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The Shape of Things

THERE'S A WAR ON. HUNGER IS THE CRUEL and ruthless aggressor. And once more, so far as America is concerned, it is a case of "too little and too late." Surely the experts knew months ago—a great many non-experts did—that the world must be fed and that we must make up any deficiency. Yet with a light-hearted and light-headed irresponsibility that becomes more appalling with every day that passes and with every undernourished child that dies in Europe or Asia, controls were lifted and Americans were told in effect that they could eat, and waste, as much as they pleased. At last President Truman has called a conference of "civic leaders," and we are informed that an "aggressive" campaign will be waged to persuade Americans to use substitutes and eliminate waste. Ordinary Americans are more than willing, but one wonders whether the speculators and the hoarders are. Marquis Childs points out that a thousand wheat elevators in the Northwest are full to bursting, while Secretary of Agriculture Anderson has announced that commitments of wheat for Europe were short 150,000 tons in February and will be even shorter in March. Factors in the situation are the poor coordination of boxcar facilities and the grain lobby's desire for higher profits and an end of price control. We hope Secretary Anderson is right in his stubborn insistence that a voluntary program will suffice. But the public should be prepared to accept rationing again when and if it appears necessary. The question is whether the necessity will be recognized by President Truman and his advisers.

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THE BALD ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE MOSCOW radio that Soviet forces will be maintained in northwestern Iran "until the situation is elucidated" has not, as we go to press, been followed by any official explanation. Presumably the Soviet government has some very cogent reason for taking this action, which on the face of it is a flagrant violation of the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of 1942. For this treaty provided for the simultaneous withdrawal from Iran of British and Russian troops six months after the war, a date subsequently fixed by mutual agreement as March 2, 1946. Moreover, when at the end of last year it was suggested that earlier evacuation would be desirable, the Soviet government declared that it intended to move out on the appointed day, neither sooner nor later. Now it is reported that the British troops have all gone while Red Army units are remaining in Azerbaijan, the province where a "democratic" party enjoying Russian patronage has set up an autonomous administration. This news has, not unnaturally, greatly disturbed the State Department and the British Foreign Office, and provoked bitter protests in the Iranian parliament. On the other hand a spokesman for the Iranian government in Teheran has greeted the Russian action as a sign of friendship, which suggests that the Iranian delegation now in Moscow has signed, or is about to sign, a new treaty providing for concessions or other privileges for the Soviets in northwestern Iran. In the unlikely event that such a treaty were ratified by the Iranian parliament, it might offer some legal color for continued Russian occupation. But it would strengthen rather than weaken the case for a strong British protest since the 1942 treaty was a *tripartite* agreement designed to maintain Iran as neutral ground between Russia and Britain. Any unilateral action to change this position must upset the Middle Eastern balance of power and increase international tension.

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BY NAMING J. A. KRUG AS SUCCESSOR TO Harold Ickes at the Department of the Interior, the President has made a respectable appointment which shines by comparison with some of his recent choices. Mr. Krug has an unblemished personal reputation; he is able and energetic. Trained at the University of Wisconsin, a school which has produced many of our finest public servants, he entered his career under excellent auspices. David Lilienthal employed him on the Wisconsin Public Service Commission and later made him chief power engineer for TVA. There his reputation grew as an administrator, a keen negotiator, and a firm supporter of public power. Called to Washington in 1940 to integrate power resources, so that the heavy war load could be handled, he carried out his assignment with great efficiency. Later he was pulled out of the navy to take charge of the War Production Board after the Nelson-Wilson row. There, however, his work afforded far more satisfaction to the dollar-a-year men than to the progres-

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sives in his department, who charged that he gave too free hand to big business. Certainly he pleased the industrial crowd after V-E Day when he encouraged the rapid demobilization of material and other controls. This record has raised the question whether at the Department of the Interior he will stand up firmly enough to the many pressure groups he will encounter there. His job requires more than personal integrity; it calls for toughness and vigilance in defending the national estate from persistent and ingenious poaching by private interests. We hope Mr. Krug's administration of his department will prove that he has these qualities and that he will live down the acclaim his appointment has elicited from Arthur Krock, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Daily News*.

*

ARE WE CREATING OUR OWN "IRON CURTAIN" while protesting the barriers erected by other nations? The refusal of a visitor's visa to Tom Wintringham, the distinguished British writer on politics and military affairs, appears to set a dangerous precedent. No reason for this action has yet been given but it is clear that the Departments of State and Justice regard Mr. Wintringham as "undesirable" because he was once a member of the British Communist Party and fought in Spain as commander of the British battalion of the International Brigade. The fact that he left that party in 1938 is apparently treated as irrelevant, as are his services in the recent war when he helped to found the famous Osterley Park Training School for the British Home Guard, and wrote books on tactics which were used by both the British and American armies. We are certainly entitled to know why a man of his caliber should be excluded from this country and to have a clear ruling on the admissability of foreign Communists and ex-Communists. If all such are to be barred a large number of European officials, including members of the present British government, will be shut out. On the other hand, if this important matter is to be left to the whim of a handful of Washington officials, what becomes of our boasted "government of laws not of men"?

*

PROSPECTS FOR UNITY IN CHINA WERE materially brightened last week by the signing of a Kuomintang-Communist agreement for reorganization of the Chinese army. Under the new plan the men under arms in China will be reduced within eighteen months from approximately six million to slightly more than one million. Of the sixty divisions in the new force, fifty will be drawn from the present Kuomintang army and ten from the Communist troops. While the Communists will continue to have most of their soldiers in North China, some will be stationed in the Yangtze valley and in Manchuria. Communist and Kuomintang divisions will in many instances be combined in joint

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armies, some under Communist and some under Kuomintang commanders. Expert American military observers are convinced that if the new plan can be put into effect, it will greatly reduce the danger of continued civil war. While the Kuomintang appears to have gained the upper hand in the allotment of troops, these observers point out that the tremendous area to be policed will leave it no surplus for offensive action. General George C. Marshall, whom the Kuomintang negotiator called the "midwife of Chinese unification," deserves major credit for the new management. Technically, the responsibility for carrying it out rests with a tripartite group set up at Peiping to enforce the truce; actually, all acute disagreements and problems will undoubtedly be referred to our ambassador for settlement. There may be need for General Marshall to stay on the job much longer than was originally contemplated.

*

AUSTRIA, THE BIG-THREE POWERS AGREED at their Moscow meeting in October, 1943, was a victim of Nazi rape who, even though she had welcomed her fate with too much enthusiasm, should be given a chance of rehabilitation as a respectable member of the society of free nations. Their statement declared that they wished "to see reestablished a free and independent Austria and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves . . . to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace." Nine months after liberation Austrians are still pondering the meaning of these words. It is true that they have been allowed to participate in free elections and that a representative government has taken office, but the Allied Control Council representing the four occupying powers remains the supreme authority. What makes this intolerable is that it is an impotent authority unable to transact more than routine business because of its rule requiring unanimity. According to dispatches in the New York *Times,* this rule has been used by the Russian representative to block all measures to improve the economic situation, for instance, by restoring free movement and trade between the different occupation zones. Meanwhile, it is charged, the Red Army has seized control of most large industrial enterprises in eastern Austria. At Potsdam it was agreed that Russia was entitled to reparations from "German assets" in this area. The Red Army appears to have stretched this formula to cover everything that the Nazis confiscated in Austria, which means the major part of the country's scanty resources. In addition, it is reported that Russia has asked for 70,000 acres of farmland to provide its army with food, even though Austrians are being barely kept alive by UNRRA aid. We should like to know the reasons for this policy of squeeze, which seems inconsistent with Soviet ideals, long-term interests, and international engagements.

An End to Appeasement!

PERHAPS our State Department has not moved far from the position it held during the Spanish war. But it has moved. The Byrnes note calling for the three-power declaration on Spain indicates a weariness with the fascist dictator and a desire to see him out of the way. The lessons of the war are being slowly learned.

The Byrnes proposal, of course, did not carry that firm ringing note we like to hear. And it is quite possible that Franco will interpret it as the verbal reprimand he has become accustomed to expect from victorious democracies whose foreign policies are curiously tainted with past appeasement. We state that no overt steps will be taken against Franco. We speak of an interim government and make no mention of the lawfully constituted Republican government in exile. We warn that the change should not involve violence. In other words, while expressing our sharp displeasure with Franco, we give the Spanish Republicans inside and outside Spain no real assurance that we are determined to dispose of the unfinished business of European fascism. And it is precisely that assurance we should give.

Our gingerly approach to the matter of liquidating the Franco regime obviously does not spring from our fear of this faltering bully, nor yet from our concern for the Spanish people. It betrays rather the tensions and the confusion in our own official mind and in the official mind of Britain. It is part and parcel of that fatal attitude of regarding status quo reaction as safer than popular revolt. It is linked to our fear of Russia and to our belief that the challenge of Russia can be met better by bolstering shaky reactionary regimes than by strengthening the vital forces of genuine democracy. In the case of Spain, it means that we actually give serious consideration to rebuilding a throne so that we can seat thereon a Bourbon monarch and thus set the stage again for the long and bloody drama of revolution and civil war.

Our action on Spain should be determined simply by an appraisal of the Franco record and the present character of the Franco regime and by our declared war objectives to end fascism and strengthen democracy. Last week The Nation Associates, in cooperation with a group of seven other organizations, issued a memorandum calling upon President Truman to end relations with Franco Spain and recognize the Spanish Republic. (Copies of the text may be obtained by writing to *The Nation.*) The memorandum was signed by Reinhold Niebuhr, Raymond Swing, Philip Murray, William L. Shirer, Henry A. Atkinson, Frank P. Graham, Jo Davidson, Elmer Benson, and Freda Kirchwey. It gave a summary of the Franco record from the beginning of the civil war on July 18, 1936, down to the present time. It stressed particularly the role Spain had played in the Axis war as an arsenal of fascism and as a base for Nazi espionage. It

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quoted a recent report issued by the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration that placed Spain at the head of the list of countries in which Nazi Germany had captured an important economic foothold and which, like Argentina, could be used as a base for Nazi revival. The report states:

> German technicians know Spanish trade secrets and in many cases control the policies of various companies. Notwithstanding a Spanish law limiting the employment of foreigners, German personnel continues to be firmly entrenched in Spanish industry. Most of the equipment recently purchased by Spain has come from Germany. Naturally, German technicians supervised its installation and often remained as technical managers.

Spain shows no sign of altering its character. Only last week it carried out a brutal execution of ten Spanish Republicans, one of whom had given gallant service against the Nazis in the French *maquis*. Spain today is an armed camp, with a standing army of 600,000 to 700,000 men and 50 per cent of the government expenditure going for military purposes. Franco's statement that the closing of the French frontier was part of an international Communist plot was a solemn echo of his late master's voice as he let loose the full flood of Nazi terror on Europe.

This man is the same kind of fascist we have been waging war against at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives and billions in wealth. He and his regime must be destroyed just as completely as fascism was destroyed in Germany and Italy and Japan. It is the grimmest sort of irony to suggest that he be replaced by a monarch who, as Alvarez del Vayo points out elsewhere, is utterly unwanted by the Spanish people and who during the civil war ardently espoused Franco and his cause. The only alternative to the present regime that meets the requirements of world security is a democratic republic.

It has been suggested that the present Spanish Republican government in Paris is not strong and that its members are out of touch with and consequently not representative of the Spanish people. Both suggestions contain a degree of truth, but they must not be used as pretexts for refusing recognition. First, let us have a definite break of diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. Then let us recognize as a provisional government of Spain until such time as free elections can be held the legally constituted government in exile—if need be, reinforced by other democratic elements. Then let the issue go, as France has suggested, to the Security Council of the UNO for such action and sanctions as are called for in dealing with a serious menace to world peace.

Franco's power today rests almost entirely upon our uncertainties and confused purposes. If we take a firm stand and forget the double talk we shall be surprised to see how quickly the end of Franco will come.

Enter Morality

WHEN antagonists as far apart as Senators Pepper and Wheeler hurry to shake the hand of a colleague for his discourse on foreign policy, it may be assumed that the speaker has struck a rich vein of prevailing sentiment. That is what happened when Senator Vandenberg finished reporting on the state of the United Nations in a speech that called for "candor" on our part "as firm as Russia's always is," for a fixed limit on "compromise," and for our assumption of "a moral leadership which we have too frequently allowed to lapse." When the Republican Senator's remarks were followed the next day by an address in which the Democratic Secretary of State took precisely the same tack, the world had notice of something close to political solidarity in this country concerning American-Soviet relations.

The bedrock of this popular approach is that everything possible should and must be done to prevent the crack in these relations from widening into a disastrous breach, but that "everything possible" does not include a continuing toleration of Russian expansion through unilateral violations of either the letter or the spirit of the undertakings on which the United Nations Organization rests. Echoing Lieutenant General William Bedell Smith, our new ambassador to the Soviet Union, Vandenberg says that "the United States is willing to go a long way in meeting its international associates, but that it must be watchful of its own vital interests and 'hold to the line beyond which compromises cannot go' . . . even if we once crossed that line under the pressures of the exigencies of war."

The speeches of Vandenberg, Byrnes, and Smith are widely held to be a turning-point in American policy —and we believe they are. In the game of power politics the United States has come off none too well, and it is returning now to its historic role of moralist to the world. We are only too glad to note this reentry of political morality on the big-power level, and we rejoice over what appears to be an end to the policy of winking at Russia's didoes in Eastern Europe in exchange for Russian toleration of Anglo-American mischief elsewhere.

At this point, however, it is fair to ask whether the standards of the new integrity are to be applied only to the Soviets. Secretary Byrnes has laid down several unimpeachable principles, each of which raises a pertinent question:

1. "We [the great powers] will not and we cannot stand aloof if force or the threat of force is used contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter." We hope and imagine that the Secretary is referring to the Soviet threat to Iran; we hope, but do *not* imagine, that he likewise has Indonesia and India in mind.

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2. "We have no right to hold our troops in the territories of other sovereign states without their approval and consent freely given." Here again we trust Mr. Byrnes refers to Russian troops left in Iran despite the solemn promise to clear them out by March 2. Does he also refer to American troops left in Iceland despite President Roosevelt's categorical promise to remove them on the cessation of hostilities?

3. "We must not conduct a war of nerves to achieve strategic ends." We believe, with Bevin, that the Russians have been conducting just such a war against Turkey, and we think it needed to be said. But was there ever in history so colossal a war of nerves as that which we are waging by the exclusive manufacture of a weapon that gives us the power of life or death over any other nation on the globe?

In short, we favor the principles set forth by Vandenberg and Byrnes—so much, in fact, that we want them universally applied. If we lavish all our conscience on the Soviet Union, saving none for ourselves, the Byrnes-Vandenberg turning-point will merely mark a change from power politics taken straight to power politics with a morality chaser.

Argentina in Suspense

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Buenos Aires, March 3

LAST Monday and Tuesday the active democrats of Argentina indulged in a spree of optimism. The ugly, bloody campaign was over; the election against all probability had been orderly and apparently fair; a fair election meant a sure democratic victory. Almost everyone I talked to from Tamborini and Mosca to their least important followers expressed unqualified confidence. Tamborini thought the Perón machine would "evaporate." The army was showered with democratic appreciation, official and popular. Because the election itself was carried through without fraud, the flagrant fraud of the campaign itself was generously disregarded. Confident of victory, few democrats felt like raking up past grievances. Reports were circulated that the Radical Party had reached an "understanding" with the army before the election, guaranteeing it against reprisals in return for order and an honest vote. Whether this rumor is true or false, it was evident that friendly relations had been established. Tamborini deprecated the very idea of a purge of pro-Nazi officers. Reconciliation was in the air. Only a handful of the many democrats I talked to admitted such doubts as I reported last week, and they were looked upon as over-skeptical and rather cantankerous. Even the Peronistas seemed to accept the general verdict. Their headquarters were dark and almost deserted the night after the election. Perón himself warned his followers to be prepared to "accept the results" whatever they were.

Today the change of atmosphere is sensational. Although only about 10 per cent of the vote has been tabulated, the unmistakable trend toward Perón has thrust the democrats into a depression as black as their hopes were bright. Tamborini and Mosca may win, but they will face an almost certain Perón majority in the Congress and Peronista governments in many provinces. This will mean a legislative deadlock and all kinds of trouble.

In Argentina the executive has great power: in certain circumstances—as we saw during the Castillo regime—he can declare a state of siege, dismiss Congress, and call for new elections—or postpone them. But the state of siege has been one of the chief targets of the democratic campaign. A radical President can hardly initiate his administration by dissolving a Congress chosen in elections he and his party and the whole Democratic Union had officially pronounced fair and free. Even if he wishes to, the President could act only if he knew he had the support of the army. In spite of its recent good behavior the army is predominantly pro-Nazi. Few people believe it would back a democratic President against an anti-democratic Congress, and it could marshal the best of democratic excuses for refusing to do so. On the other hand, a Perónist majority in Congress would block all measures except its own and so bring government to a standstill. The only possible outcome of such a dilemma would be a new and even more bitter struggle for power, with the democratic forces in an inferior strategic position.

The alternative, which still looks unlikely, is an outright victory for Perón. This would obviously bring new dangers, but it would also clarify the issue and force the four democratic parties to continue their campaign alliance. As a legal opposition they could carry on the fight against fascism openly, challenging Perón to honor his own commitment to the electoral result. If he abandoned constitutional methods, returning to his old tactics of street fighting and police terror—tactics freely used until a few days before the elections—the struggle would again become a revolutionary one. Bitter as this necessity would be, it might be preferable to a divided, indecisive result which left Perón in a position to throttle democratic government while posing as its defender.

These major alternatives, together with innumerable subsidiary possibilities, are being debated on street corners and in sidewalk cafes and living-rooms all over Buenos Aires. Until the last vote is counted—some time after March 10, when the re-balloting in contested districts in Buenos Aires province takes place—the political tension here will continue. The Argentine democrats face difficulties as challenging as any they have tackled in the past three years. They will need steady support and understanding from their friends in the United States.

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Germany's Hidden Assets

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 28

THE gigantic diplomatic duel now under way between the Soviet Union and the British Empire has served to distract attention from the basic problem of victory. That problem is to prevent a resurgence of German aggression. Historically, Russia and Britain have always quarreled too soon after, and drawn together too late before, each German attempt at world power. The old pattern is reasserting itself, and the consequences may prove costly. The time has come to make public opinion realize that, despite defeat, the Reich still has enormous economic and political assets at home and abroad which can again be utilized for war.

I would like to call the attention of the thoughtful to several Congressional committee hearings held in the past few months and a number of documents which throw a great deal of light on this problem. Consider first the report made at the end of October by the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. This study shows that German plant capacity was so greatly expanded during the Hitler regime that it was never fully utilized during the war. Most of the Reich's industry was on a one-shift basis, while ours and Britain's worked round the clock. The key machine-tool industry had so enormous a capacity that 30 per cent of it could be diverted to direct production of munitions. "Man-power . . . was never fully mobilized," and the output of civilian goods "at a fairly comfortable level . . . was maintained virtually stable until well into 1944." This vast capacity does not lie in ruins. More than three-fourths of it is intact or readily repairable.

In two sets of hearings the Kilgore committee of the United States Senate has provided a picture of the extent to which the Germans are already succeeding in undermining the Potsdam program for the reduction of the Reich's war-making potential, the purge of Nazi influence, and the breaking up of the great cartels which have played so crucial a role in past German aggression. The most important of these cartels is I. G. Farben, and among the material submitted to the Kilgore committee by the War Department in December (published in Part 7, Elimination of German Resources for War) is a memorandum which estimates that I. G. Farben's productive capacity after three months of repair work "would reach 87 per cent."

The two Kilgore hearings to which I refer are those held December 11 and 12 and last Monday, February 25. The two witnesses in December were Major General John H. Hilldring, director of the army's Civil Affairs Division, who has just been nominated as an Assistant Secretary of State, and Colonel Bernard Bernstein, until recently of the General Staff corps, where he was director of the Division of Investigation of Cartels and External Assets in the Office of Military Government (Germany). The witness last Monday was Russell A. Nixon, an official of the United Electrical Workers, who was for a time acting director of that division. The testimony indicates that despite excellent directives and much good intention in the High Command and the State Department, there is strong opposition to the Potsdam program among our military and diplomatic personnel.

I will cite but one example from Nixon's testimony. The Potsdam agreement and the original Roosevelt directive on Germany called for the purge not only of the Nazi leaders but of industrialists who had been their active collaborators. Richard Freudenberg was one of these industrialists. Yet his exemption from the denazification order was asked by some Military Government officials, and when the fight was taken to higher levels, "Mr. Reinhardt, representing Ambassador Murphy, insisted: what we are doing here through denazification is nothing less than a social revolution. If the Russians want to bolshevize their side of the Elbe that is their business, but it is not in conformity with American standards to cut away the basis of private property." The denazification board at Frankfurt voted four to one to exempt Freudenberg, but its decision had been temporarily tabled on higher orders at the time Nixon left.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Nixon's testimony dealt with the program to root out Germany's secret assets in other countries, notably Spain and Argentina. Last December the Enemy Division of the Foreign Economic Administration submitted a report on the role these assets had played in two world wars and on the importance of a vigorous program for their liquidation. They include funds, secret industrial agreements, patents, and laboratories. One vivid sentence in the report holds the imagination. "It may be as essential," it says, "to prevent Germans in other countries from making an atomic bomb as it is to prevent them from doing so in Germany." To read that report and the memorandum on Spain presented to the President this week by The Nation Associates and other organizations is to begin to understand how important the fight against Franco and Perón is to American and world security. The financial value of these secret assets in Spain, Argentina, Turkey,

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Sweden, Switzerland, and elsewhere is placed by the FEA at $1,500,000,000. Their future military value is incalculable. No one knows what surprises may be hatching for us in the laboratories of German-controlled chemical and electrical companies.

The program for eliminating these external assets seems to have bogged down badly. Nixon may have been wrong in saying that it was a violation of the Potsdam agreement to exclude the Soviet Union from participating in the hunt for hidden assets in such countries as Spain, but he was certainly right in terming it inconsistent with four-power unity. He provided a revealing glimpse of motivations in describing a teletype conference held on December 15 between General Clay and the State Department, in which Nixon participated from Germany.

The department argued that four-power operations in such countries as Spain "might breed conflicts with respect to foreign policy which it is strongly desired to avoid." But while it may be overstated, there is an irreducible kernel of truth in Nixon's charge that elements in the United States, British, and French Foreign Offices are "consciously maneuvering" against four-power action in the neutral countries because it would fully bare the character of the regimes in these countries "and would reveal all the elements of collaboration of certain interests in the Allied countries with these regimes."

The British government is against the use of sanctions to force the neutrals to cooperate. The American government is hedging on forceful action in Latin America, partly because of the powerful influence which certain collaborationist financiers and companies exercise in Washington, especially in the Alien Property Custodian's office and even in the White House entourage. Right now, while the State Department is asking the neutrals to throw open German patents to general use, the Custodian is fighting the application of a similar policy in this country. The hopeful developments are (1) the President's appointment of Randolph Paul as a special assistant to deal with the problem of German external assets, and (2) the growing signs of a new policy toward Spain. If public opinion can be awakened to the fact that German power is far from crushed, perhaps we can make some progress.

Franco's Zero Hour

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, March 1

THE Spanish issue has exploded suddenly this week as I have often predicted it would. It was naive to expect that the people of Europe would wait docilely six months or a year or two years until the big powers would condescend to put an end to Franco's provocations. The closing of the French frontier at the very moment the French people are desperately in need of the foodstuffs they might get from Spain shows that the time for words has passed and the time for action has come. That is why the note by Secretary Byrnes calling for a three-power appeal to the Spanish people to throw off the Franco yoke is viewed with some skepticism. That is why the French are insisting on a clear break with Franco. That is why France is prepared to carry the matter to the Security Council of the UNO and insists that steps be taken against a fascist power that so clearly endangers the peace. Nor are there many who favor the idea of a "caretaker government," since only a true republic can secure democracy in Spain.

Last Tuesday's magnificent meeting in the Vélodrome d'Hiver, Paris's Madison Square Garden, must have been a rude shock to those American correspondents who have been telling the people back home the French are so tired and hungry that they just don't give a damn about politics. Forty thousand people jammed the "Vel d'Hiv," and an overflow crowd of several thousand more filled the streets around the hall.

In the light of the French action, I think *Nation* readers will be particularly interested in the adventures of a Spaniard who has just come out of Spain with one of the most complete first-hand reports of many years. Last October in Mexico Juan Negrín and the rest of us who form the executive committee of the Spanish Socialist Party decided to send one of our best men into Spain, not to work in the underground but to see what was going on inside the country. Our man has just returned to Paris to meet Negrín and me. He traveled all through Spain and showed us railroad stubs that traced his journey into every corner of the country. With a knapsack of food on his back he climbed into the Asturian mountains to eat with a band of guerrillas; he dined with Spanish business men in Madrid's most fashionable restaurant; he saw prisoners coming out of Franco jails; he watched Falangists drilling.

Taking the unpleasant side of his account first, I must report that Franco is stronger than he was six months ago. The explanation is simple: the Spanish dictator has stopped taking Allied statements about his regime seriously. Perhaps the courageous decision of the French government to answer the execution of Christino García and nine other Spanish Republicans by closing the

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frontier may change his mind, but until now, at least, he has shown a cynical skepticism about the intentions of the democracies. Our man described in detail the evolution of Franco's thinking since the San Francisco conference. The Quintanilla resolution barring fascist Spain from the world community created a momentary panic in Madrid. Convinced that his days were numbered, Franco resumed his flirtation with Don Juan. A week or two passed—and nothing happened. The British ambassador continued to show the dictator the greatest courtesy. An American official told his friends in the Spanish Foreign Office that in America only the Communists and *The Nation* were against Franco; that Washington would never endanger American-Spanish relations just to see a few Moscow agents, disguised as Spanish democrats, take power. Given this sort of encouragement, Falangist wits soon began to make jokes about San Francisco and Potsdam; more recently the UNO session in London provided them with material for a fresh batch of *bons mots*. One day our man accompanied a Latin American to the Spanish Foreign Office, where he had a chance to hear some of these bits of "humor." But he was far more interested in listening to an official of the Foreign Office explain to the Latin American that the United States was highly pleased by Franco's readiness to let the Americans build airfields in Spain "which could later be used against Russia."

We had specifically instructed our man to sound out as many people as possible on the question of the monarchy. His report on this point is conclusive: "Don Juan's followers consist of a dozen grandees, a few of the elder army officers, a handful of prelates—the majority of the Catholic hierarchy are still pro-Franco and opposed to any change—and the few remaining members of the Monarchist Party, which by 1936 had already lost most of its adherents. Even experienced royalist leaders like Antonio Goicoechea, Minister of the Interior under Alfonso and later director of the Bank of Spain, are afraid that to attempt a restoration of the monarchy at this time would plunge Spain into another bloody war. Their doubts about the wisdom of such a move were increased when the arrival of Don Juan in Lisbon failed to produce any sort of reaction in Spain. Though the Pretender's visit to Portugal had received a great deal of advance publicity, it left the Spanish people absolutely cold." Whether there has been a real breakdown in negotiations between Franco and Don Juan or whether these rumors are merely a smoke screen to cover further negotiations, only the protagonists themselves can say.

Our reporter said that there are still a half-million prisoners in Spain. I thought his figure was too high, but he insisted that he had checked it scrupulously with representatives of all the political parties. People abroad, he explained, are misled into believing that the number of prisoners has been sharply reduced because every six months or so, on the occasion of some religious celebration or Falange ceremony, Franco issues an "amnesty" decree freeing thousands of prisoners. They really are freed—for a fortnight. Then they are promptly rearrested on the pretext of having violated one of the hundreds of new regulations. There is no greater farce than the Franco amnesties.

Years of imprisonment have failed to break the spirit and the solidarity of the Spanish Republicans. The recent wave of executions at the prison of Alcalá de Henares which provoked such horrified protest abroad was touched off by a significant incident. One of the prisoners was punished for a slight infraction of the rules by having his head shaved. That evening all the prisoners appeared in the mess hall with shaved heads. As punishment, the director of the prison ordered that every tenth man would not be permitted to see his family on the regular visiting day. Those visits are a matter of life and death for many of the prisoners because their families bring them a little food. Yet on the next visiting day all the prisoners refused to see their families. At that point a bloodthirsty Falangist went berserk and the mass executions began.

The government has built up another lucrative racket through the state-controlled system of supply. It forces the farmers, for example, to sell their potatoes to the state at an absurdly low price and then resells them in the black market. The army, too, comes in for its share of the profits; Franco allows high-ranking officers to sell gasoline on the black market. The fact that the gasoline was bought from the United States explains why the army, now that Hitler has been defeated, is so strongly pro-American. Even death is a business proposition under the Franco dictatorship. When a Republican is executed at the "model prison" of Carabanchel Bajo, the family of the dead man is permitted to see the corpse for a nominal fee of 10 pesetas.

The rationing board at 21 San Bernardo Street in Madrid is the most hated spot in the city. Actually, the red tape of a corrupt bureaucracy makes the rationing system almost non-existent. Day after day long queues of emaciated women wait in front of the building to obtain their food cards; in the four months that our man spent in Spain he was unable to get a card. Prices are exorbitant: a liter of olive oil costs 20 pesetas; dried beans, 18 pesetas; *garbanzos*, when they are to be had at all, cost some 30 pesetas a kilo; a kilo of rice sells for 22 pesetas; the price of potatoes runs from 6 to 8 pesetas a kilo. Since the highest daily wage is 11 pesetas, the Spanish workers are slowly starving to death. One of the jokes that is making the rounds in Madrid these days goes like this: One worker asks another, "How do you manage to feed your kids?" "Well," answers the second worker, "as soon as we sit down to dinner, I begin to sing the Falange song, 'Cara al sol.' When I come to the

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point where I say, 'Franco! Franco! Franco!' my kids always answer, 'We are reds!' Then I punish them by sending them off to bed."

The hopes of Republicans in Spain ran high last fall when the Giral government in exile was formed in Mexico, but their enthusiasm began to fade as they realized its weaknesses. On the other hand, Negrín's position is even stronger than it was a year ago, and his interview with Under Secretary of State Acheson made a profound impression. The people have found a popular slogan in the initials of the state-operated railway system, the RENFE: "Regresando a España Negrín! Franco estorba!" The underground is absolutely against the plebiscite proposed by Indalecio Prieto; Prieto is very popular among monarchists and that section of the high bourgeoisie that has turned away from Franco.

During the last year we received frequent reports that there was widespread fear in Spain of the *secunda vuelta,* the savage vengeance the Republicans would exact when they returned to power. This has been a favorite theme of Cardinal Spellman, whose forthcoming visit to Spain is a subject of rapturous comment in the Franco press. Our man found that the only Spaniards who talk of a *secunda vuelta* are Franco's torturers and executioners. The rest of Spain lives in fear of the new reign of terror instituted by Franco. When my friend left Spain, thousands of Moorish soldiers were pouring in from Morocco. The Moors have always been Franco's favorite shock troops. He sent them against the Asturian miners in 1934. He will use them this time against the entire Spanish people unless America and Britain speak out now, as boldly as France has spoken.

The Four Germanys

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association and author of "The Four Cornerstones of Peace"

THE announced intention of the Allied Control Council in Berlin to deal with Germany's food problem on a national instead of a zonal basis focuses attention on a fundamental difficulty of the four-power administration of Germany. At the present time the defeated country and its shattered capital are divided into four zones, each under the control of one of the four Allies—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and France. This division had been advocated before V-E Day by the military leaders of the Big Three chiefly because the British and Americans feared the extension of Russia's influence west of the Elbe, while the Russians feared Anglo-American influence in eastern Germany. The political leaders of the Big Three had never proposed the partitioning of the Reich as part of the final peace settlement, except in the matter of assigning certain eastern provinces to Poland and Russia. Yet pending this settlement, which may not be negotiated until 1947, the division of Germany into four zones has had, in some important respects, the effect of partition—but of a partition whose duration is unknown.

At the Crimea conference of February, 1945, where the United States, Britain, and Russia decided on zonal administration of Germany, they also agreed to establish an Allied Control Council, composed of the Supreme Commanders of the four occupying powers, with headquarters in Berlin, to coordinate policies in the different zones. This council, however, did not begin to function until September, four months after V-E Day. Meanwhile existing German administrative machinery had broken down, and the combat forces of the Allies had to do the best they could to restore the basic necessities —water, gas, and electricity—and to assure minimum rations and a measure of security in their respective zones.

The zonal administration made the task of the Allied Control Council fundamentally different from that which confronted General MacArthur on the surrender of Japan. Moreover, Japan, being an island, can be conveniently isolated from the rest of the world and dealt with as if it were in an airtight laboratory, whereas Germany lies at the very heart of a continent seething with political, economic, and social conflicts, affected by events in the Reich and in turn affecting them. In addition, continuity of administration was preserved in Japan by retention of the Emperor and the governmental hierarchy, at least until successive purges decimated the official personnel. In Germany, on the contrary, the Nazi governmental system promptly disintegrated; Nazis were eliminated, with varying degrees of thoroughness in the four zones, from posts not only in government but also in industry, trade, banking, education, and other enterprises; and the German people, giving a literal interpretation to the phrase "unconditional surrender," looked to the Allies to reorganize life for them and to shoulder the political and economic burdens of defeat.

Divergent policies and practices in the four zones have been inevitable, given the well-known differences of tradition, temperament, and method of the occupying powers. The British, with their long experience in colonial administration, have used a relatively small number of well-trained officials to direct the activities of the Germans. Their zone is administered by a government agency

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which has always baffled American classifiers, the Duchy of Lancaster, previously responsible for displaced persons in Germany. The occupation forces, now assimilated with the home command in the British Isles, are subordinate to the civilian government. By all accounts, the British, with their dislike of paper work and desire to function with a minimum of fuss, have done the best administrative work of all the Allies. Their success in the economic sphere is not yet so clear. Since Britain needs overseas markets for its industrial products, some Britishers are prone to deplore any measures that threaten to lower the German standard of living. In the Allied Control Council, for example, the British have urged a higher quota of steel production for Germany than is approved by the United States and Russia. Production in the Ruhr coal mines, which lie in the British zone, has apparently lagged behind that in the Saar mines, which are administered by the French. This has been due in the main to a shortage of skilled man-power (at the end of the war nearly 80 per cent of the Ruhr coal was being mined by foreign slave labor, which began to disperse after V-E Day), but in part also to apathy among German workers, who might have been spurred to greater effort had the victors revealed any desire for fundamental economic and social changes.

The Americans, seeking quick results, have worked like beavers and occasionally, through overzealousness, have got in the way of such efforts toward recovery as the Germans themselves have made. It is generally admitted that the Americans have been far more thorough in rooting out Nazis than the other Allies, including the Russians, but these purges have seriously slowed down economic production, and at the end of 1945 industry in the American zone was producing at only 10 to 12 per cent of current capacity. The greatest obstacle to the revival of German economic activity, however, is the failure to treat Germany as a single economic unit, as was proposed at Potsdam. The four zones are still isolated from one another, and there is little normal movement of persons or goods. Moreover, Berlin, where the country's economic activities had been strongly centralized under the Nazis, has been shorn of its controlling role, and the country's economy has perforce been decentralized by zones.

The eagerness of our combat troops to return home has seriously diminished their authority among the Germans, and has given American occupation an air of impermanency that jeopardizes the measures of reconstruction, many of them excellent, devised by American officers. General Eisenhower indicated last autumn that the War Department would turn over administration of the zone to civilian officials by June 1, but the State Department has declined to accept the transfer of authority on the ground that it is not an operating agency, and it looks at present as if the army would be left in control by default, with the aid of such civilians as it will succeed in recruiting from among demobilized officers and men. The melting away of American forces has made it necessary for the United States authorities to employ Poles, Yugoslavs, and other European nationals who had been brought to Germany as war prisoners or slave labor and who for political reasons refused to return to their homelands. These "D. P.'s" who cannot be repatriated threaten to create a conflict between the United States, on the one hand, and Russia, Poland, and Yugoslavia on the other. At the same time, as Mrs. Roosevelt contended at the UNO meetings in London, it would be inhumane for the United States forcibly to return to their homelands men and women who fear that their lives and liberties would be endangered there. Credit should be given to the United States for being the first occupying power to hold elections in its zone; local elections took place in January, and provincial elections will be held in May.

The Russians, whose country was methodically devastated by the Germans, have removed from their zone all plants, equipment, and consumers' goods they needed, considering these as legitimate reparations for the losses they had suffered. The remaining industries have been encouraged to resume operations under German managers, and according to the reports of non-Russian observers, production in the Russian zone is far ahead of production in ours. Among other treasures the Russians took the cyclotron of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin; they also transported to the U. S. S. R. a number of German scientists and technicians, who are said to have been given comfortable quarters and good salaries, with instructions to continue their studies of the atomic bomb and other related inventions. Although they have removed the top Nazis who had places on their war criminals' list, the Russians have allowed many members of the Nazi Party to retain technical positions, leaving the job of purging the lesser Nazi fry to the Germans themselves. At the same time the Russians have taken great pride in encouraging manifestations of German culture and in expressing their respect for the intellectual achievements of the Germans. They were ahead of the British and Americans in reopening educational institutions with textbooks purged of Nazi ideas and in permitting the publication of German newspapers and the showing of German films. They have urged the resumption of political activity, with special emphasis on cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats in their area and its extension to other zones.

The French have not lagged behind the Russians in helping themselves to foodstuffs and consumers' goods, which they also consider legitimate reparations. They have been sympathetic toward separatist sentiment, especially in Baden, and have urged the Germans in their zone to dissociate themselves from "Prussianism" and to

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accept the cultural values of Western Europe, that is, of France. Stubbornly opposed to any revival of a centralized German state, they have refused to acquiesce in the formation of the five central administrative German departments—finance, industry, foreign trade, communications, and transport—envisaged in the Potsdam agreement. The French contend that the Ruhr and the Rhineland should be detached from Germany in the west, just as East Prussia and Silesia were detached in the east, before the Allies permit reconstruction of a central administration by the Germans. On this issue they are opposed by the Big Three, who would prefer, once they are satisfied that Germany has been rendered militarily impotent, to let the Germans handle their own administrative problems.

Serious as are the difficulties of the Allied Control Council, Berlin is now a most interesting and useful laboratory, where, out of the divergent ideas and practices of Russia and the Western powers, something resembling a common policy toward Germany is being slowly, if often painfully, developed. Here, for the first time since 1917, the Russians are not merely meeting the Western world on the formal level of diplomacy or military strategy but are discussing such common problems as food, shelter, the rights of trade unions, the publication of German newspapers, the revival of education and political parties—the thousand and one things that make up the stuff of daily living. The Russians are on their mettle not to be outmatched by the British and Americans in efficiency or humanity; the Westerners are learning that not all Russians are unbusinesslike and ruthless. Many of the thousands of Russian soldiers who have been stationed in Germany will return home with new ideas of the material comforts they would like to enjoy. These new ideas, translated into demands for improved standards of living, may have far-reaching repercussions on life in the U. S. S. R.

Undoubtedly the administration of Germany could have been carried out much more effectively, and its economy restored more rapidly, if control had been intrusted to a single power. This, however, was a practical impossibility at the time of Germany's defeat. In the long view, the experience of the four Allies in working together on their common problems in Germany, which are also the problems of Europe and the world, may be considered a valuable contribution to the never-ceasing process of international organization. What is essential now is to work out a formula which will permit the urgently needed unification of Germany's economic life without arousing the fear of Germany's neighbors that a centralized economic administration will ultimately develop into a military state bent once more on expansion. In the United States we have tended to think the French wrong in opposing economic centralization. But it is difficult to see how Germany can be united economically and kept divided politically—which in essence was the contradictory program proposed at Potsdam. There is much to be said for a considerable measure of political decentralization, which would encourage the growth of democratic administrations in provincial cities that were once centers of German culture, such as Cologne, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, Dresden, and Leipzig. If the Germans are to take a genuine interest in political and economic reconstruction, however, they must be given some idea of the ultimate nature of the national framework within which the Allies expect them to live. Allied policy on this point could be more readily clarified if the United States made it plain beyond the shadow of a doubt that it intends to maintain a continuing interest in Europe, and will back up its good intentions with political and economic action.

In the Wind

A WEST COAST CORRESPONDENT reports considerable confusion among the commissioned personnel at some of the smaller California naval bases. The rest rooms come in threes—one labeled Men, one labeled Women, and one labeled Officers.

THINGS WE NEVER KNEW TILL NOW: The New York Stock Exchange ran an advertisement in the Sunday *Times* a few weeks back which revealed: "Both your neighborhood voting place and the New York Stock Exchange provide common meeting grounds for all shades of opinion. . . . Second only to preserving the purity of the ballot is the need for preserving the integrity of the market place. . . . Truly, the voice of the people speaks more clearly and forcefully through this Exchange and the other organized markets of the country than through any other single means of expression, save the polling place."

LE JAZZ POLITIQUE: The London correspondent of the *Record Changer*, an American hot-jazz monthly, says, "It would appear that every jazz fan in Europe was a member of the underground movement."

A COMMITTEE OF LEADING NORWEGIANS headed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court is collecting funds to erect a memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt in Oslo.

WORLD-GIRDLING AIRLINERS had just succeeded in convincing us that the world must be round after all, when along came Transcontinental and Western Air, trading as T. W. A., to throw the issue into doubt again. With the acquisition of European routes, T. W. A. has started billing itself as Trans-World Airways—a clear implication that, so far as T. W. A. is concerned, its planes are traveling *across* the world and to hell with this newfangled nonsense about going *around* it.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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Deadline in India

BY DAVID MARTIN

During the war Mr. Martin was in India as a pilot with the Royal Canadian Air Force. He has been a frequent contributor to the New Statesman and Nation *and the London* Tribune, *using, of late, the pseudonym David Carpenter*

IN INDIA a story is told about a conscientious American officer who undertook to find a solution for the Indian problem. He read books and clipped newspapers and interviewed representatives of the various nationalist movements. After four months his face had grown wan and his hands trembled. One night his roommate was awakened by terrified shrieks.

"Don't! Don't! You can't do this to us! We won't take it! Yes, you can have your loan interest free! Anything! But not that! Not that!"

"You had quite a nightmare last night," this companion remarked in the morning.

"Yeah," grunted the student. "I dreamed—" he choked. "Oh, God, I dreamed that the British had given us India by way of return lend-lease."

When I left India in September of last year, it was impossible to escape the feeling that something was about to happen. Beneath a thin veneer of peace and order, a mounting hatred of the English threatened any moment to erupt. Nowhere was this hatred stronger than in the army and in no section of the army stronger than among the officer corps.

Though the victory of the Labor Party in Great Britain aroused the hopes of the Indian nationalists, they were too much embittered by repeated disappointments to put their trust in any British government. "We will wait and see," they said, "but we will not wait long. If the Labor government does not give us independence, we will take it by force."

On my arrival in England I discussed the Indian problem with members of Parliament, government officials, and various Fleet Street Socialists. I expressed the opinion that in six to nine months there would be trouble, and not just from the aroused Indian population but from the Indian armed forces as well. Actually, in less than six months a strike broke out in the navy, developed into a full-fledged mutiny, and led to widespread rioting in Bombay and sympathetic demonstrations in army and air-force units elsewhere. It is significant that the British authorities found it necessary to use British instead of Indian troops to put down this latest uprising.

Although the Labor government is committed to Indian independence, the imperialist interests which oppose it are still powerful, especially in the Indian Civil Service, the permanent officialdom of the India Office, and the Imperial General Staff. The diehards still think in terms of the past. They imagine that the tide of Indian nationalism will periodically rise, exhaust itself, and recede as it has done many times before. At its apogee there will be riots in the cities and nasty comments in the British and American press—but nothing that a determined administration cannot cope with so long as it has the backing of a loyal army. They do not realize that India has undergone fundamental changes since the end of the last war. Then the British still controlled the Indian army. *At the end of World War II they do not control it.*

During the war it was customary to cite the splendid record of the Indian army as proof of the basic loyalty of the Indian people. But the fact that Indian army units distinguished themselves in Burma, Africa, and Italy means absolutely nothing in terms of allegiance to the British Raj. The Indian is a good soldier, with a highly developed martial pride. Against a foreign enemy he fights bravely, even when he does not understand the issues. Against his own people he will not fight—not today, because for the first time he *does* understand the issues.

First let us consider the officer caste. At the end of the last war only a small minority of the officers were Indians. The few natives commissioned were generally professional soldiers and political albinos. In this war the rapid expansion of the Indian army to a force of 2,500,000 men compelled the British to recruit some 30,000 junior officers from the student and professional classes. Officer candidates were very carefully screened. But to find an anti-nationalist among these classes would be like finding a dodo in Central Park. Those who got through the screening may not have had police records, but they were all ardent nationalists.

Why did they join the army? In the case of the young Sikhs and Punjabis, their martial tradition had something to do with it. But other motives entered in. As intellectuals they understood the nature of Japanese imperialism and German fascism. Though they hated the British Raj, they realized that India's fate was tied to Britain's. They enlisted not to fight for Britain but for India. That is why Indian officers are so tolerant of other Indians who answered the call of Subhas Chandra Bose and joined the Japanese-sponsored Indian National Army. I met only one officer who believed that Bose's companions should be treated as traitors. The general opinion was that they were honest nationalists who mis-

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takenly imagined they could achieve Indian independence with Japanese aid.

Their experience in the army has if anything strengthened the nationalism of the Indian officers. First they are embittered by the promotion system. Indians commissioned as second lieutenants are in due course promoted to first lieutenant, but beyond that they find it difficult to go. Indian captains are rare, majors virtually nonexistent. Time and time again Indian officers complained to me about the subterfuges used to promote British officers over the heads of Indians with greater seniority.

Another source of friction was the exclusive attitude of the British officers. Apart from a sensitive and enlightened handful, the British kept to themselves. "If a British officer enters our mess," said an Indian lieutenant, "we do our best to draw him into conversation and make him feel at home. But if one of us were to enter a British mess, they would let him eat by himself. No one would say a word to him." It is small things like this that make men see red.

I recall a dinner attended by some twenty Indian officers and three Canadians. The subject of conversation, as always, was British rule in India. At one point I felt called upon to moderate by suggesting that the British Raj, with all its evils, could not be placed in the same class as Nazism, or the British persecutions in India compared with the gas chambers of Belsen. At another time my Indian friends would have agreed, but now their tempers were aroused and the Scotch had loosened their tongues.

"What is the difference?" demanded a Hindu lieutenant angrily. "Didn't three million people die in the Bengal famine? And weren't the British responsible?"

"I'm not defending the British administration," I answered. "But surely one can't compare British negligence in Bengal with the calculated mass murders of Belsen?"

"It would have been kinder of the British to have gassed our people!" exploded the young lieutenant. "That would have been better than a lingering death from hunger."

So much for the officers; what of the rank and file? It used to be thought that the Indian army was made up of illiterate peasants completely uninterested in politics. Indian nationalism, it was said, was confined to a handful of agitators in the cities. That may have been true twenty years ago, but it certainly is not today. While most of the enlisted men are still illiterate, they have become, thanks in the main to the radio, intensely interested in politics and surprisingly well-informed. Here and there enterprising Indian officers have obtained permission to organize discussion groups for soldiers. They told me that they were frequently amazed to hear illiterate sepoys ask detailed questions about the Wavell offer, the Simla conference, the election of the British Labor government, and similar matters.

Since September the situation in India has grown steadily more explosive. The Labor government has not kept its promise of turning India over to the Dominions Office; the people have been deeply stirred by the distressing events in Java and the riots in Calcutta; no amnesty for political prisoners has been declared, and the Congress Socialist Party is still illegal.

The British, of course, face almost insoluble problems, but they should realize that the most imperfect solution will be better than none at all. They are approaching a deadline. If they ignore it, they court disaster.

The Indian people expect the Constituent Assembly to be convoked as promised, and they expect self-government to emerge from it. They demand the right to settle residual differences among themselves, even it if means a civil war. The mood of India today has nothing in common with the passivity of *Satyagraha*. If independence does not come within the promised time, the now thoroughly aroused people of India will rise with a fury which will sweep the British Raj into the sea and perhaps destroy Britain as a great power.

Until recently Indian nationalists were wont to look to America and Russia for possible support. Today they are inclined to suspect America, partly because of our policy in China, partly because of their experience with the racial prejudices of American soldiers. And their feelings toward the Soviet Union have been cooled by the actions of the Indian Communist Party. They have never forgiven the party for sabotaging the civil-disobedience movement in 1942, and when the Communists came out recently for a modified form of Pakistan, which they had previously opposed tooth and nail, it was simply too much for Congress to bear. Nehru, without altogether abandoning his sympathy for Russia, has complained bitterly that the Communist Party behaves more like a Russian than an Indian national party.

In Indian eyes Britain's one great crime is that it keeps India in subjection. England's parliamentary and judicial system, its philosophy and literature are held in the utmost respect by enlightened Indian nationalists. If independence were granted, without haggling or recrimination, India's attitude toward Britain would change overnight. A liberated India would look to Labor England rather than to Soviet Russia or capitalist America for moral and political leadership. And through this leadership Britain could maintain the material connections which it is understandably anxious to preserve.

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The Menace of Rheumatic Fever

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician; author of "Hahnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel"

SENATOR BRIEN McMAHON advanced an extremely sound idea when he suggested to President Truman that one of the tasks of the United Nations should be to form a group of scientists, similar to the group engaged in atomic research, "to discover causes and cures for the deadly diseases of mankind."

If a project like this should ever be realized—on either an international or a national scale—one of its first objectives might well be more knowledge about the deadly and crippling disease known as rheumatic fever. Dr. H. M. Marvin has written in a report of the American Heart Association: "It is the opinion of many leaders in medicine and public health that rheumatic fever and its complicating heart disease is the one important disease which is receiving the least adequate attention and financial support. Huge sums are contributed annually for tuberculosis, cancer, and infantile paralysis. Rheumatic fever ranks with these in importance, but up to the present time almost no funds have been raised to combat it."

Rheumatic fever ranks third as a chronic infectious disease in this country; only tuberculosis and syphilis are more prevalent. It ranks first as the cause of death and invalidism in the age group from five to nineteen, causing 4.5 times as many deaths in individuals under twenty as whooping cough, measles, meningitis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and infantile paralysis combined, and also more deaths than tuberculosis of the lungs. No reliable national survey has been made, but it is authoritatively estimated that 500,000 school children in this country suffer from rheumatic fever. In 1943-44 the army reported 18,000 cases, the navy 15,000. The incidence of rheumatic heart disease among schoool children is between 0.3 and 0.4 per cent and among college students between 0.6 and 1 per cent.

Rheumatic fever is an acute infection of unknown cause; it is often of epidemic character, usually appearing in late winter and early spring. All epidemics of the disease are preceded by epidemics of streptococcic infections. Rheumatic fever begins with sore throat or bronchitis, high temperature, swelling of the joints. The arthritic and heart symptoms often do not appear until the sore throat has lasted for ten days. The heart is affected in almost every case. Laboratory and clinical tests permit the exact diagnosis of rheumatic fever once the doctor's suspicion has been aroused, but countless cases are not properly diagnosed in time. The most dangerous characteristic of the disease is its tendency to become chronic, with frequent and increasingly serious relapses.

Though rheumatic fever is known in every climate, the northern states and the Rocky Mountains are favored areas. It is more prevalent in cities than in the country. Bad housing, bad clothing, bad nutrition are contributory factors. The accepted method of treatment is prolonged rest in bed, often for more than a year, careful nursing, protection from renewed infection. All this requires money and a good deal of emotional adjustment on the part of the patient and his family. Neither facilities for the necessary medical care nor understanding of the disease among physicians is adequate at present.

Two years ago a conference of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor suggested an independent national organization for combating rheumatic fever. A year later the American Council on Rheumatic Fever was founded. It consists of representatives of ten organizations—the American Medical Association, the Public Health Association, the Rheumatism Association, and others—is advised by a dozen leading experts, and is affiliated with the American Heart Association. The council's tasks are to disseminate knowledge of the criteria applicable to the diagnosis of rheumatic fever, to plan community rheumatic-fever projects, to assist or initiate research. Unfortunately its means are pathetically small; only $25,000 has been placed at its disposal, though it hopes to get $50,000 more in the near future. An efficient fight against rheumatic fever would require but a few hundred thousand dollars, and it is a shame that this modest sum is not available.

A number of promising leads beckon to research workers. Sulfa drugs and penicillin do not cure rheumatic fever, but mass experiments with sulfa drugs have shown that they protect children suffering from the disease against dangerous new infections. During the past few years large doses of salicylates, given under strict medical supervision, have succeeded in bringing relief to rheumatic-fever patients. The search for the cause of rheumatic fever has not greatly advanced, but there is some reason to believe that the preceding streptococcic infection creates an allergic disposition of the heart tissues to the products of the germs. The role of heredity in increasing susceptibility to the disease is also an important object of research. According to Dr. May G. Wilson of the New York Hospital, rheumatic fever occurs in almost 100 per cent of the children whose parents have both had it.

New York University has an excellent sanitarium for rheumatic children; another, St. Francis Sanitarium, is

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located at Roslyn, Long Island, under the direction of Dr. Leo Taran. A few years ago the New York State Department of Health established a sanitarium at West Haverstraw which was intended to serve as a teaching center for physicians, but the project was abandoned because of the war. The only working community program is at Syracuse, New York. Organized on the initiative of a social-minded physician, Dr. Fred Hiss, it has received the backing of the State Health Department, the City Health Department, the local nursing associations, local clinics, the school system, social agencies, and various churches. A central registry for rheumatic-fever cases is operated, and a small hospital provides care for convalescents.

Such admirable but necessarily insufficient effort should be extended by a planned, nation-wide stimulation of research and social responsibility. Rheumatic fever is a growing public danger, worse than infantile paralysis. The funds needed to combat it should not have to be raised by charity.

[*New developments in medicine and related fields will be discussed by Dr. Gumpert at frequent intervals.*]

Middle Eastern Munich

BY ELIAHU EPSTEIN

Chief of the Arab Department of the Jewish Agency and a distinguished Orientalist

SOME time ago the New York *Times* published a conversation that took place in Beirut between its correspondent, Clifton Daniel, and Jamal Husseini, exiled leader of the Palestine Arab Party, who has recently been permitted by the Palestine government to return to that country. Mr. Daniel referred to Mr. Husseini's having been a refugee in Beirut, Bagdad, and Teheran, and said he had surrendered to the British in Iran in 1941 and been sent to southern Rhodesia. He did not, however, mention the reasons for Mr. Husseini's frequent changes of residence. The fact is that Jamal Husseini was accompaying his cousin, Haj Amin el-Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, on his flight from Bagdad. In Teheran the ex-Mufti succeeded, with the help of the Japanese embassy, in escaping to Italy and later to Germany. Jamal Husseini, less fortunate, was apprehended by the British when they entered the Iranian capital.

For four years before the outbreak of war the Arabs of Palestine, incited by the ex-Mufti and Jamal Husseini, had been creating disturbances against the government and the Yishuv in Palestine. The majority of them were violently anti-British, and influenced by the poisonous propaganda of these same leaders, displayed considerable sympathy for the Axis powers, especially Germany. Political contacts with the fascist countries had been established by Palestinian Arab politicians in the early 1930's. These contacts had the desired result when the Italians and Germans furnished the Arabs arms, guidance, and money for use against the British in Palestine.

After their flight from Palestine in October, 1937, the two cousins established "headquarters" in Syria, whence they continued to direct terroristic activities in Palestine and to strengthen their connections with the Axis. Two months after the outbreak of the war they moved to Bagdad. Anti-British circles in Iraq—including the government, which was then headed by the supposedly pro-British Nuri Pasha Said—welcomed the Husseinis and their entourage and treated them with every mark of respect. Financial aid from the Axis and the support of other Arab countries enabled them to continue their political machinations.

The ex-Mufti and his cousin exercised a great deal of influence on the internal affairs of Iraq. It was their wire-pulling which brought Rashid Ali al-Gilani to power in March, 1940. British agents attempted at various times to negotiate with them and to get them to change their attitude, but their pro-Axis activities were intensified. The abortive revolt launched by Rashid Ali al-Gilani in April, 1941, was designed to administer the knockout blow to Britain's position in the Middle East; it was expected that the Germans would invade Syria and Iraq at any moment. Throughout this crucial period of the war the Husseinis played a very important role in preparing and executing the plans of the Nazis in the Middle East. They were assisted in this by a number of other Palestinian politicians, among whom was Musa al-Alami, for the past two years accepted by the British and the Arab League as the representative of the Palestine Arabs. Musa al-Alami is now head of the Arab Office in Jerusalem, which has branches in London and Washington.

Only a few days ago an Associated Press dispatch from Nürnberg reported the disclosure of official records of the German Foreign Ministry on the contemplated "Battle of Suez." These documents showed clearly how Rashid Ali al-Gilani and his friends tried to stab the Allies in the back. Rashid Ali has been condemned to death in Iraq, but *The Nation's* readers will be interested to know that he is still enjoying his freedom in Saudi Arabia as a guest of King Ibn Saud.

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After the failure of his uprising Ali's supporters, the ex-Mufti and Jamal Husseini, fled to Teheran. Jamal, as I have said, was captured by the British, but his cousin escaped. Until the collapse of Germany the ex-Mufti made regular broadcasts of an inflammatory nature from the short-wave radio station at Bari and later from Berlin. On every Moslem festival or anniversary his voice was heard pouring out invective against the Allies and the Jews and swearing allegiance to "our great, noble, loyal, and helpful ally, Germany." He promised his Arab adherents that he would soon return to Palestine at the head of the Arab-German army and enjoined them to be prepared to rebel whenever he should give the sign.

Not only in his broadcasts but in other fields also the ex-Mufti served the Germans well. He helped to establish in Athens the "Arab Parachute Brigade," which was to drop into Arab countries in advance of the German armies and get them to rise against the Allies. He was sent by his Nazi masters to make contact with Arab prisoners of war and to induce them to join the German army. Many of them were persuaded and displayed considerable anti-Allied enthusiasm. He allegedly made propaganda tours in Libya—when it was thought that the Axis might win in North Africa—and in Yugoslavia and elsewhere. In Bosnia he mobilized Moslems in a special "Moslem Mountain Division" attached to the S. S., employing force against those who refused to join, and he also formed groups to wage war against the Yugoslav partisans. Some of his adherents sought out hidden American and British pilots in order to collect the reward for handing them over to the Nazis. The ex-Mufti's photograph frequently appeared in the German illustrated papers, copies of which were distributed in Arab countries; one of them showed him with the Führer himself.

A paper now in the hands of the Nürnberg judges proves that the ex-Mufti shares the responsibility for the massacre of six million European Jews by the Nazis. In a sworn affidavit dated Geneva, January 25, 1946, Dr. Rudolph Kaszner declares that S. S. Hauptsturmführer Pieter von Wisliczeny, an associate of the infamous Adolf Eichmann of the Gestapo, made the following statement to him:

> In my opinion the Grand Mufti, who has been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of the German government to exterminate the European Jews. He repeatedly suggested to Hitler, Himmler, and von Ribbentrop the extermination of European Jewry. He considered this a comfortable solution for the Palestinian problem. He was one of Eichmann's best friends and constantly incited him to accelerate extermination measures. I have heard it said that, accompanied by Eichmann, he visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz.

If the efforts of the ex-Mufti and of Jamal Husseini and their followers did not produce the expected results in Palestine and other Arab countries, credit must be given, not to the Palestine White Paper, which is supposed to have kept the Arab world quiet, but rather to Wavell's successful defense of Egypt, the liquidation of the Iraq revolt, the Allies' advance into Syria, Anglo-Russian action in Iran, Montgomery's victories in Libya, and Eisenhower's final crushing of the Axis in the Mediterranean. Arab revolt against the Allies was seething everywhere in spite of the fact that Palestine was closed to Jewish immigration and that Arab leaders were being told by British agents that the Jewish National Home was a thing of the past. This assurance, far from reviving Arab loyalties, made things worse at the time, for the Arabs, in their primitive realism, maintained that only the weak abandon their friends.

The British government has now released Jamal Husseini from his detention in southern Rhodesia—instead of putting him in the dock with his friends at Nürnberg—and allowed him to return to Palestine, where he has again been installed as the leader of the Arab Party. In his conversation with the correspondent of the New York *Times* he expressed a desire to testify before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. The admission of his evidence would be a vindication not only of himself but also of his cousin, with whom he has always been in complete agreement on all matters of public policy. And it is feared that a sequel to this implicit rehabilitation of Jamal Husseini would be the release of the ex-Mufti from custody in France and permission for his return to Palestine.

Informed opinion about the ex-Mufti was well summed up by the Manchester *Guardian* in an editorial printed on November 26, 1945:

> The collapse of the Nazis and Fascists should have put him at last in the hands of the Allies, but he performed another vanishing trick and got away to France. And the French, then smarting about the Lebanon affair, held him as a trump card up their sleeves to produce if Britain became too awkward. And there he is still, but well on the way to respectability again, for here are the Palestine Arabs electing him chairman "in absentia." If the British government recognizes him it will be a scandal and Nürnberg will become a mockery.

The acquiescence of the British in the "unanimous desire of the Arabs" for the return of the ex-Mufti to Jerusalem, to quote Jamal Husseini's words to the *Times's* Mr. Daniel, would be regarded by the Arab people as the final step in the reinstatement of the agents of Nazi aggression in the Middle East. One doubts that it would add much to the prestige of the British government, for during the war the brutal slogans of Nazi philosophy made an infinitely stronger appeal to the Arab masses than the British policy of appeasement, which they interpreted as indicating the political degeneracy of the once powerful British Raj.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Why France Needs Help

IN A statement to the French Assembly last week on the mission of Léon Blum to this country Premier Gouin said that the French government had asked for American assistance, "not as a substitute for our national effort but to allow our effort to furnish its maximum output." In other words, he asked help of a kind that would enable France to help itself. That in turn, he pointed out, would enable it to help other lands. With the collapse of Germany France is potentially the third largest trading country in the world—a great market for raw materials and for American machines, a producer of goods which the world needs.

M. Blum, who has been chosen to tell the French story in Washington, is the grand old man of French politics. Still active and animated despite his seventy-five years and his long imprisonment by the Nazis, he symbolizes both the tribulations and the resilience of his country. His task is not to negotiate a financial agreement—he is not an economic expert—but to appeal to American understanding and sympathy by presenting a broad picture of France, of its present struggles, of its hopes and fears for the future.

At the moment, it must be admitted, the average American's impression of France is largely unfavorable. It is influenced by G. I. reports of French inefficiency and lack of plumbing, by newspaper stories which concentrate on political bickering and economic confusion. Everything seems to be going from bad to worse, and a complete breakdown followed by either right- or left-wing dictatorship looms in the near distance. There are elements of truth in this picture, but in order to keep our perspective we might do well to recall that very similar impressions of this country were carried back to France in the years immediately after the Revolution, to the despair of Jefferson, who had undertaken in Paris a mission similar to that of Blum in Washington. France too has been undergoing a kind of revolution, and appearances are against it. But underneath the chaotic surface of affairs, signs of improving health can be found by those who care to dig for the facts. When we realize the remarkable progress that has been made by a people on half-rations to repair the enormous damage wrought by the war, we need not take too gloomy a view of the future of France.

French material losses between 1939 and 1945 were much greater than in the First World War. Some 443,000 buildings were destroyed and 1,361,000 seriously damaged. More than 900,000 acres of land were sown with 100,000,000 German mines, putting out of cultivation some of the finest soil in France. Transport facilities suffered terribly. The railroads were shot to pieces—with 3,700 kilometers of track, 115 out of 322 main stations, including nearly all important junctions, and 3,100 bridges put out of action. In September, 1944, only 2,800 out of 16,000 locomotives and only 142,000 out of 478,000 freight cars and passenger coaches were still in service. Highways and inland waterways—very important in France—were in equally bad shape. But the destruction was most total in the seaports, where the Germans hung on grimly to complete with dynamite the ruin caused by bombs and shells.

To this actual devastation must be added the loss caused by the exhaustion of the soil, for which fertilizers were lacking during the war; the reduction of herds; the deterioration of buildings and machinery which could not be repaired; the spoliation of stocks of raw materials and finished goods, which were practically at zero when liberation came. Altogether, it has been estimated, France lost 42.5 per cent of its 1939 capital assets, which compares with an estimated loss in Britain of 25 per cent. Even more serious has been the loss of French man-power. Military casualties number 200,000 dead, 330,000 disabled; and it is estimated that 450,000 civilians were killed, 355,000 disabled. These tragic figures make it easier to appreciate the French problem of mobilizing enough human brains and muscle to restore and carry on economic life.

In the face of such difficulties, what has been accomplished is truly marvelous. Traffic has been resumed on 19/20 of the railroad network, and last year 15 per cent more civilian passengers were transported than in 1938. Highways and waterways have been largely restored, and the reconstruction of port installations is sufficient to handle more than the present volume of foreign trade. The output of coal from the newly nationalized mines has been raised to pre-war levels despite obsolete equipment. Continued shortage of coal is due to lack of imports, on which France always had to rely to the extent of 20,000,000 tons or so a year. This is one reason why industrial production is lagging at about 60 per cent of 1938. However, the output of steel, which totaled only 30,000 tons in January, 1945, had increased to 207,000 tons in November, 1945—nearly 50 per cent of the pre-war rate. By January of this year cement production was 55 per cent of 1938, aluminum 99 per cent, glass, urgently needed for housing repairs, 147 per cent. Electric-power production has exceeded pre-war records even though the hydroelectric systems in the south have been badly hit by drought. Over 500,000 buildings have been repaired and thousands of emergency dwellings erected. Restoration of telephone and telegraph networks is almost complete, and half the mined land has been cleared.

This brief and incomplete record is proof, I think, that Frenchmen have not been dissipating all their energies in political squabbles and black marketeering; they have been practicing self-help. There are limits, however, to what they can do without external assistance. The Gouin government has adopted drastic economy measures, including cuts which will bring the armed services below pre-war strength. This program, which will tend to diminish inflationary pressure, needs to be supplemented by an expansion of production. Without large imports of modern machinery and the many raw materials lacking in France, industrial revival is bound to lag. And since French reserves of gold and foreign exchange are quite insufficient to finance the current trade deficit, French hopes are fixed on American credit. If that is denied, recovery will entail a degree of suffering and sacrifice hard to reconcile with democratic stability.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Moonrise Limited

The low, the large, the umber moon
That suddenly we saw was sailing,
Sailing level with the train,
Sailing leftward and unlawful,
East as we were, east to ocean;
And its tender side cut steeples,
And it sliced at trees and cables
As it raced—a rearward madness,
Renegade to west and over,
Runaway from arch's calm.
Low and dizzy it went with us,
Out of the window south ahead;
And its soft flank was flattened, pressing
Spaces where it once had slept;
Pressing with us till we shuddered,
Laughing, and pulled down the shade.

Sometimes I Believe

She loves me or she loves me not,
I am a fool, a wise man.
Sometimes I believe I know;
Then she is wild, is woman.

Some days she is worldly kind,
As to the millionth beggar.
I think it is for me she feels,
Then find I was but neighbor.

Some days when I least am looking
Love comes to my shoulder.
Sits and sings; but she has sent
Nothing, she says, from her.

There she lies, in sleepy shade,
And all her blood, I fancy,
Blesses the sharp thought of one
Who like a thief will enter.

So shall I slip and with outrage
Be winner of that warmness?
Sometimes I believe I see
She loves no one, this woman.

The Close Clan

Even from themselves they are a secret,
The like ones that dwell so far asunder:
So far, and yet the same; for gold is gold
In any earth, and thunder repeats thunder.

They are the scattered children of what pair,
What patient pair so long ago extinguished?
But the flesh lives, in certain ones that wind
And dust and simple being have distinguished.

Whatever these, and howsoever born,
They are the ones with perfect-lidded eyes,
Quieter than time, that yet can burn,
Can burn in rage and wonder and sunrise.

They are the ones that least of all the people
Know their own fewness, or the loving fear
Such lineage commands—that ancient couple,
And these their growth in grace's afteryear.

In them the world lives chiefly, as gold shines,
As thunder runs in mountains, and hearts beat.
They are the ones who comprehend the darkness,
And carry it all day, and sweeten it.

MARK VAN DOREN

Class and Color

SURELY if our literary people had their way there would be no anti-Negroism or anti-Semitism in this country. The American novelist's pen is firm, if not sharp, in defense of the minorities: at the moment I can recall only one novel of the last few years which formulated a reactionary position toward oppressed racial groups, and remarkably few instances where the instinct of intolerance showed itself even accidentally. Of patronage and condescension, of over-simplification and muddle-headedness and self-deception there has of course been an abundance; but no doubt the conscious process of reform must always be accompanied by these unattractive manifestations of missionary zeal.

In recent weeks there have been two new novels on the Negro problem—Fannie Cook's "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" (Doubleday, $2.50), winner of the George Washington Carver Award, and Ann Petry's "The Street" (Houghton Mifflin, $2.50), a Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship novel. I suppose I should say at once that neither of them challenges the prestige of Lillian Smith's "Strange Fruit"; indeed, neither of them is particularly rewarding as a work of fiction. But both novels have their interest, especially when they are read in conjunction. For there is as much provocation as irony in the fact that the far more cerebral of the two, "Mrs. Palmer's Honey," which undertakes to name the economic and political sources and cures of anti-Negroism, turns out to be really so simple compared to "The Street," which undertakes only to explain how its author, herself colored, feels about her situation.

There is no question that Mrs. Cook has thought hard and long in order to reach her conclusion that as labor goes, so goes the fate of the Negro. "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" is a civic-minded book not alone in terms of local affairs—housing, schools, community activities—but in terms of the large political life of the country. And Mrs. Cook is not lacking in the courage to proclaim her political preferences: a considerable section of her novel concerns the last Presidential campaign; she mobilizes her good Negroes to rally votes for

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Roosevelt and pleads without reservation the case for P. A. C. Indeed, it is specifically in the C. I. O. that she puts all her hopes for the solution of the Negro problem. But while recognizing such social and economic contradictions as segregation within the army and within the trade unions, she seems to will not to recognize any contradiction in Negroes themselves. Her characters, if they can be said to be motivated at all, are motivated only by positive or negative social impulses; there is no modification of feeling, no conflict of desires, once the path of action has been chosen. Thus, her heroine, Honey, is a parody of virtuousness, an Elsie Dinsmore of the kitchen, home, and trade union.

To find more human verisimilitude in Mrs. Petry's Lutie than in Mrs. Cook's Honey is not, however, to set up the one above the other as a social ideal. Mrs. Petry tells us the story of a young colored woman who, having lost her husband when the depression forced her to "live in" in domestic service, tries to make a decent life for herself and her small son in Harlem. Lutie is not only very pretty and energetic; she also has had a high-school education. The degradation she must suffer despite these advantages is symbolized by the dreadful apartment in which she must live, just as the whole of the Negro degradation is symbolized by the dirt and wretchedness of Harlem's 116th Street.

In her period of domestic service Lutie worked for a white family in Connecticut. By her own experience, her employers were a miserable family group—Mr. and Mrs. Chandler were unhappily married, Mr. Chandler drank, Mr. Chandler's brother shot himself before their eyes, the Chandler baby was a sad little youngster. But the Chandlers already had a lot of money and they were on their way to having a lot more; and Lutie had seen what a pleasant surface money can put on suffering. Her only complaint against being colored is that it denies her the opportunity to live with the cleanliness and financial ease of a Mrs. Chandler. No matter how hard she is willing to work, no matter what her talents, she is unable to rise above the Harlem ghetto.

By quite opposite routes, in other words, both novels have arrived at the economic core of the Negro problem. But to Mrs. Cook, equal economic opportunity is predicated on both Negro and white proletarian consciousness. To Mrs. Petry, equality of opportunity means a free capitalist economy in which the Negro individual, no less than the white, can gain as much as he desires and is capable of gaining.

I speak of Mrs. Cook's very thoughtful book as being, in the long run, rather simple compared to Mrs. Petry's. What I mean is that "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" fails to take into account the fact that is so frankly and unself-consciously admitted by "The Street"—namely, that class feelings are as firmly ingrained in the colored population of this country as in the white; that there is nothing inherently virtuous, from a political point of view or from any other point of view, about being a member of a mistreated minority. While Mrs. Cook's idealism on the score of class solidarity does credit to her, it asks, in the light of Mrs. Petry's straightforwardly middle-class document, to be corrected by a confrontation with our class realities. "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" also—and again in the light of "The Street"—calls attention to a profound but common error in so much of our contemporary political thinking, the error of assuming that it is only in the degree that people are virtuous that they deserve just treatment. Basic to a great deal of our writing on minority problems, especially in fiction, there seems to be the idea that we must prove that members of minority groups—whether Jews, Negroes, Italians, or whatever—are good, even better than the rest of us, before we have the right to demand that they be treated like everybody else. Must a white Protestant resident of Westchester be certified for character before he enjoys his full rights as a citizen? As I read "The Street," I couldn't help wondering whether the author of "Mrs. Palmer's Honey" would be as exercised over the inability of a girl like Lutie to achieve her house in Connecticut and even a mink coat, if that is what she wants, as over the restrictions in the path of a girl like Honey, whose ambitions are so much nobler. Properly, even politically, she of course should be.

DIANA TRILLING

BRIEFER COMMENT

Memoirs in History

IN "COURTS AND CABINETS" (Knopf, $3.75) the historian G. P. Gooch presents brief accounts of thirteen memoir writers whose work is of high importance to historians. One of them is German, the others either English or French, and they range in time from Mme de Motteville to Mme Adam. The book is frankly addressed rather to those who have not read the memoirs themselves than to those who have, and it aims, successfully, to be interesting as well as informative. The character of each author is described, the scope of his work indicated, the question of his reliability sometimes lightly touched upon, and copious quotation given to illustrate his manner. Most persons, including the present writer, are unlikely to find time to read, for instance, all the forty-two volumes of Saint-Simon, and here is a pleasant way to find out something about those one will never read, as well as to discover, perhaps, others with which one would like to have a direct acquaintance. Like the professor who is said to have remarked that "everybody knows a *little* Sanskrit," Professor Gooch occasionally takes for granted a bit of knowledge which every schoolboy does not really have. Thus he speaks on one page of the Duchess of Cleveland and on another, in a quite different connection, of Lady Castlemaine. I doubt that every reader otherwise qualified to enjoy a book of this sort can be assumed to know that these are one and the same person.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Continuous Housing

ALTHOUGH LOUIS JUSTEMENT is an architect practicing in Washington, D. C., his approach to city planning in "New Cities for Old" (McGraw-Hill, $4.50) is first of all financial. He believes that the rebuilding of our cities could be an immediate and a continuous task which would be the best remedy against depressions. In economics he is an intelligent conservative who wants to preserve the capitalistic system by saving it from its own excesses. Slum clearance and the rehabilitation of blighted areas cannot be achieved solely

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through the profit motive. Like Henry Churchill, Justement believes that the city, condemning the land, should retain title to it, and ultimately become the sole landowner. This transformation Justement proposes to realize through a new federal agency, the Urban Reconstruction Corporation, and, in each city, through a Municipal Realty Corporation. (Note that under the prophetic Second Empire the Crédit Foncier was meant to be a URC; it has financed many civil improvements, as well as the building of private homes.)

The "time" approach is no less interesting than the "money" approach. Justement is of the opinion that—with rare exceptions—buildings should be paid for, declared obsolete, and rebuilt within fifty years. His outlook is neither the immediate gain of the profiteers—tomorrow be damned—nor the eternity of the traditional architects. He is planning for organic, healthy renewal and growth instead of the present "method" of disease and surgery.

Justement does not lose sight of planning in the literal sense—master plan, highways, building regulations, zoning, etc. His ideas are presented in very concrete form as a study of Washington, past, present, and future. We get a little weary at times of "the City" in the abstract: we like a case study of, say, London (Abercrombie), Berlin (Hegeman), Paris, or Sauk Center. The book lacks flamboyancy: no apocalypse like that of Le Corbusier or Frank Lloyd Wright. But it is eminently practical and quietly daring. "Above all, make no little plans." ALBERT GUERARD

Menander and Murray

MOST READERS OF *THE NATION*, this reviewer included, have never read, in the original Greek, the plays of Menander. We need not feel too guilty about this, for the papyrus manuscripts containing such few consecutive fragments as we have were not unearthed before the beginning of this century. Scholars impatiently waited for more, but none were forthcoming; finally, tantalized beyond endurance, Professor Gilbert Murray leaped into the lacunae, and has now come up with his own translated and reconstructed versions of two plays, the "Perikeiromenê," and the "Epitrepontes"—"The Rape of the Locks," and "The Arbitration," to you (Oxford, $3).

All this, and a good deal more about the New Comedy, Professor Murray explains lucidly, urbanely, and a little repetitiously in one general and two particular introductions to these plays. (There are also notes.) As to the plays themselves, they are interesting in various ways: for their ritual value, for their preservation of dramatic traditions, and for their corruption of the same; for their realistic observation of character in spite of the contrived observation of conventionalities of plot; for their combination of hokum and kitsch with passages that are really moving. They are dull in stretches and very funny at other times.

Except for the single phrase "Says you," Professor Murray apparently gave up learning slang long before he quit studying Greek; some of his verbal whimsy, therefore, his tossing around of the gay lingo of the Victorians, is just a little embarrassing. As to how much of these reconstructions is Menander and how much Murray, that is a subject on which the former Regius Professor of Greek at the University of Oxford prefers to be coy; he can rest assured, however, that the present reviewer, who sat in his classes on his visit to Amherst thirty-odd years ago, will never be the one to give him away. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The "Tribune"

PHILIP KINSLEY'S FIRST VOLUME of "The Chicago *Tribune*: Its First Hundred Years," which was issued in 1943, derived a certain continuity from Lincoln's relationship to that paper. Volume II, published by the Chicago *Tribune* ($3), is for the most part no more than a compilation of news highlights for the years 1865-80 which must be read, if at all, in the manner of a gossip column. Fortunately, there is an index. Newspaper history tests the resources of any writer, but difficulties multiply when an author's information is such that he can, on page 129, report Karl Marx, "referred to as a leading spirit of the 'International Society,'" as dead in London at fifty-three years of age in 1871, and, on page 293, as granting an interview to a *Tribune* correspondent in 1879. The question is still: what is the *Tribune*, and why? Future volumes may help to answer this question. For reasons not given, Alfred A. Knopf is no longer publisher of the work. LOUIS FILLER

Saintsbury on French Literature

TRADITIONALLY SCHOLARS ARE ALWAYS misjudging the public. Huntington Cairns, special legal adviser to the Treasury Department and secretary of the National Gallery of Art, must also be a scholar, for in editing "French Literature and Its Masters" by George Saintsbury (Knopf, $3) he has brought out a volume for which the public certainly felt no need. When George Saintsbury (1845-1933) wrote these essays he was doing so on order from the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and the assignment, as Mr. Cairns says in his excellent Introduction, provided a challenge for his critical acumen and his tight, eminently literate style. In his 150-page essay on French Literature from the Beginnings to 1900—as in the individual studies of such men as Corneille and Balzac and Joinville and Voltaire—he has achieved feats of condensation. It would be interesting to compare his long essay with the similar one that Lytton Strachey wrote for the Home University Library.

But if the editor has the scholarly attitude, he is not, unfortunately, a scholar from the right field. Saintsbury wrote his articles some years ago—it would be a help if this edition dated their first appearance—and naturally they lack the benefits of twentieth-century researches. For instance, most of our precise knowledge about Rabelais has been contributed by Abel Lefranc and Jean Plattard since the creation of their review of Rabelaisian studies in 1903. Mr. Cairns is aware of the strides made in this domain since Saintsbury wrote, but his Supplementary Bibliography—never very critical or even discerning—fails to distinguish the essential studies from the minor contributions. He is especially careless in the matter of translation, failing to list the American edition of Plattard's Life of Rabelais in 1931 or the availability in the Modern Library Giants of Le Clercq's classic translation of the five books. The Montaigne bibliography is likewise in-

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adequate. In general the editor seems to have worked largely on the basis of the Library of Congress cards, a dangerous and confusing method. When one discovers, on page 325, that he is unaware that Thieme's important bibliography of 1907 appeared in a completely new edition expanded to several times the original size in 1933, then the cat is far out of the bag.

It would be unjust, in view of the date of composition, at which we can only guess, to cavil with Saintsbury's losing of Mallarmé and Villiers among a dozen now-forgotten poets or his classing of Gyp (anyone remember her?) above Maurice Barrès. But—and this is the editor's fault—anyone who attempted to correct such misjudgments would get but little help from Mr. Cairns's bibliography. Saintsbury has been taken out of the public domain of the Britannica and made available to scholars, who will class this book as a pious and misguided testimony to the memory of a distinguished critic.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

The Farmer's Partner

IT WOULD BE HARD to find a more important matter for long-range political thought than agricultural conditions in the United States, and yet, to judge by the columns of the political weeklies, there is hardly a subject about which the average liberal or Socialist knows less. Particularly is he unaware of the enormous extent to which government is an actual partner in agriculture. For this reason I found Ferdi Deering's "USDA" (Oklahoma, $2.50) a most useful book. The subtitle, perhaps, more clearly defines the theme. The United States Department of Agriculture is called the "Manager of American Agriculture."

The author is associated with the *Farmer-Stockman* and evidently has a wide knowledge not only of the confused or at least cumbersome and overlapping devices of administration but also of real conditions in agriculture and of the temper of the farmers. He is critical, and I believe that he makes out his case for reform of administrative processes, but his temper is always reasonable and his arguments are shrewd. He is not an anarchic agrarian or a state socialist. Nor is he an anti-metropolitan or a reactionary. As he sees it, the problem is a dual one: there must be such a balanced and flexible planning of production and appropriate streamlining of governmental services that measures shall be immediately adaptable to changing necessity. At present, Mr. Deering says, the state of affairs is such that "no man living understands the complex set-up."

RALPH BATES

Biography of Wilson

IT IS NOT SURPRISING that Woodrow Wilson continues to inspire partisanship. His personality, the significance of the issues with which his name is linked, and each fresh appraisal of the patterns of national and world history since 1919 contribute to that result. Today, the traditional epic tragedy of Wilson takes on the guise of a curiously painful success story. It is worth recalling that Wilson, an ardent nationalist, declared in his famous Senate address of January 22, 1917, before the United States had become a bellig-

by Ella Winter

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erent, that "the peace that must end this war . . . must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. . . . There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace. . . . Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend."

His latest biographer, Ruth Cranston, is an undisguised admirer. She knew Wilson and his family, was associated with the League of Nations, and had access to the private Wilson papers. In "The Story of Woodrow Wilson" (Simon and Schuster, $3.50) she has produced a lively, one-volume biography. While Mrs. Cranston is frequently persuasive, she is too much the champion. Her book is such a passionate paean of praise of Wilson, the warm-hearted man, the constant liberal, the great war President, the world statesman, that it has the effect of rendering its subject a disservice. So ardent is its defense of both Wilson and the League of Nations that a lack of balance is inevitable. Several items of major import in the Wilson story—among them the sources and development of his political and economic ideas, his position on loans and credits during the period of neutrality, and the question of the secret treaties—receive scant treatment or are omitted entirely. HENRY DAVID

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The Camera's Glass Eye

PHOTOGRAPHY is the most transparent of the art mediums devised or discovered by man. It is probably for this reason that it proves so difficult to make the photograph transcend its almost inevitable function as document and act as work of art as well. But we do have evidence that the two functions are compatible.

The heroic age of photography covered the half-century or more following immediately upon its invention in the late eighteen-thirties. During this period its physical technique was still relatively imperfect in result and clumsy in procedure. However, since art is a matter of conception and intuition, not of physical finish, this did not prevent—indeed it seems to have aided—the deliberate or accidental production of a quantity of masterpieces by such photographers as Hill, Brady, Nadar, Atget, Stieglitz, Peter Henry Emerson, Clarence White, and others. Hill's photographs were conceived in accordance with the portrait-painting style of his time—he was a painter himself; Brady's documentary photographs, with the exception of his portraits, became art more or less unconsciously; Atget's likewise. In an instinctive way both Brady and Atget anticipated the *modern* and produced a legitimate equivalent of post-impressionism in painting; which was permitted them no doubt by a medium clean of past and tradition, through which they could sense contemporary reality naively and express it directly, untrammeled by reminiscences and precedents that in an art such as painting could be escaped from only by dint of conscious effort on the part of a sophisticated genius like Seurat. Stieglitz, for his part, absorbed impressionist influences in his early work but transposed them radically into terms proper to his own medium. And so, to a lesser extent, did Clarence White.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century the procedure of photography has been made swift, sure, and simple. Yet its results, in the hands of those who strive to render it art, have on the whole become more questionable than before. The reasons for this decline are complex and have still to be cleared up. But a few of the more obvious ones become apparent in the work of such a serious and ambitious contemporary as Edward Weston, a selection of whose *oeuvre* to date is being shown at the Museum of Modern Art (until March 31).

Two of the most prominent features of latter-day art photography are brilliant physical finish—sharpness or evenness of focus, exact declaration of lights and darks—and the emulation of the abstract or impersonal arrangements of modern painting. In the first respect modern photography, eschewing the blurred or retouched effects by which it used to imitate painting, has decided to be completely true to itself; in the second respect, which concerns subject matter, it takes this decision back. This logical contradiction is also a plastic one. Merciless, crystalline clarity of detail and texture, combined with the anonymous or inanimate nature of the object photographed, produces a hard, mechanical effect that seems contrived and without spontaneity. Hence the estranging coldness of so much recent art photography.

It again becomes important to make the differences between the arts clear. Modern painting has had to reduce its ostensible subject matter to the impersonal still life or landscape,

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or else become abstract, for a number of reasons, historical, social, and internal, that hardly touch photography in its present stage. Photography, on the other hand, has at this moment an advantage over almost all the other arts of which it generally still fails to avail itself in the right way. Because of its superior transparency and its youth, it has, to start with, a detached approach that in the other modern arts must be struggled for with great effort and under the compulsion to exclude irrelevant reminiscences of their pasts. Photography is the only art that can still afford to be naturalistic and that, in fact, achieves its maximum effect through naturalism. Unlike painting and poetry, it can put all emphasis on an explicit subject, anecdote, or message; the artist is permitted, in what is still so relatively mechanical and neutral a medium, to identify the "human interest" of his subject as he cannot in any of the other arts without falling into banality.

Therefore it would seem that photography today could take over the field that used to belong to genre and historical painting, and that it does not have to follow painting into the areas into which the latter has been driven by the force of historical development. That is, photography can, while indulging itself in full frankness of emotion, still produce art from the anecdote. But this does not mean pictures of kittens or cherubs. Naturalism and anecdotalism are required to be as original in photography as in any other art.

The shortcomings of Edward Weston's art do not usually lie in this direction, rather in its opposite. He has followed modern painting too loyally in its reserve toward subject matter. And he has also succumbed to a combination of the sharp focus, infallible exposure, and unselective atmosphere of California—which differentiates between neither man and beast nor tree and stone. His camera defines everything, but it defines everything in the same way—and an excess of detailed definition ends by making everything look as though it were made of the same substance, no matter how varied the surfaces. The human subjects of Weston's portraits seem to me for the most part as inanimate as his root or rock or sand forms: we get their coverings of skin or cloth but not their persons. A cow against a barn looks like a fossilized replica of itself; a nude becomes continuous with sand, and of the same temperature. Like the modern painter, Weston concentrates too much of his interest on his medium. But while we forgive the painter for this, because he puts the feeling he withholds from the object into his *treatment* of it, we are reluctant to forgive the photographer, because his medium is so much less immediately receptive to his feeling and as yet so much less an automatic category of art experience. This is why the photographer has to rely more upon his explicit subject and must express its identity or personality and his feeling about it so much more directly.

Nor do the abstract factors make up in Weston's art for the lack of drama or anecdotal interest. To secure decorative unity in the photograph, the posing of the subject and the effects of focus and exposure must be modulated just as the analogous elements in painting have to be modulated for the same purpose. (Of course, decorative unity in photography is made more difficult by the infinitely more numerous and subtle gradations between black and white.) The defects of Weston's art with respect to decorative effect flow from its lack of such modulation. In this Weston resembles the Flemish "primitive" painters, who also liked to define everything in sharp focus and who likewise lost decorative unity by their failure to suppress or modulate details—rejoicing self-indulgently as they did in the new-found power of their medium to reproduce three-dimensional vision. Unlike the Flemish, however, Weston tries to achieve decorative unity at the last moment by arranging his subject in geometrical or quasi-geometrical patterns, but these preserve a superimposed, inorganic quality. Or else they overpower every other element in the photograph to such an extent that the picture itself becomes nothing more than a *pattern*.

The truth of this analysis is borne out, it seems to me, by the fact that almost the best pictures in Weston's show are two frontal views of "ghost sets" in a movie studio. Here the camera's sharply focused eye is unable to replace the details left out by the scene painter or architect; and the smoothly painted surfaces prevent that eye from discovering the details it would inevitably find in nature or the weathered surface of a real house. At the same time a certain decorative unity is given in advance by the unity, such as it is, of the stage set.

Weston's failure is a failure to select; which is moved in turn by a lack of interest in subject matter and an excessive concentration on the medium. In the last analysis this is a confusion of photography with painting—but a confusion not so much of the effects of each as of the approaches proper to each. The result, as is often the case with confusions of the arts, shows a tendency to be artiness rather than art.

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him look at the work of Walker Evans, whose photographs have not one-half the physical finish of Weston's. Evans is an artist above all because of his original grasp of the anecdote. He knows modern painting as well as Weston does, but he also knows modern literature. And in more than one way photography is closer today to literature than it is to the other graphic arts. (It would be illuminating, perhaps, to draw a parallel between photography and prose in their respective historical and aesthetic relations to painting and poetry.) The final moral is: let photography be "literary."

CLEMENT GREENBERG

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE rejuvenated Monte Carlo Ballet Russe is at New York's City Center for a longer mid-winter season and with additions to the repertory that it offered in September. I am writing after the first week, in which "Swan Lake" was added to the other great classics—"Coppelia" and "The Nutcracker"—that are enriched by the incomparable performances of Danilova, and Balanchine's "Baiser de la fée" was added to the group of his ballets after having been out of the repertory a few years.

Seeing "Ballet Imperial," "Mozartiana," "Concerto Barocco" after the few months' interval one is amazed all over again by Balanchine's constantly new invention of dance movement in his constantly developing style—by the inexhaustible flow of movements that are exciting in their rhythmic impetus and accent, their emotional impact, their strokes of fantasy and wit. But "Le Baiser de la fée" is one of the great works in which Balanchine's choreographic invention is the medium of his extraordinary dramatic imagination and feeling for the theater. In "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme" that imagination and theatrical sense produce delightful comedy; in "Le Baiser" we get their full range—in scenes which begin with radiant gaiety and humor and end with dark, terrifying violence. We also get wonderful examples of how that imagination uses traditional ballet materials and situations. I have spoken more than once of the new thing that Balanchine makes in each ballet of the movements and poses of the *pas de deux* of ballerina and male dancer: the seduction in "Le Fils prodigue"; the strange, ominous, menacing "Hand of Fate" episode in "Cotillon"; the exquisite, touching expression of the emotions of youthful lovers in "Le Bourgeois gentilhomme." In "Le Baiser de la fée" there is the tender, playful *pas de deux* of the boy and his bride; there is, on the other hand, the terrifyingly violent *pas de deux* in which the fairy takes possession of the boy at the end of the village scene. And this one is followed by a powerful stroke of the *fantaisie Balanchine* that is a further manifestation of Balanchine's dramatic imagination and theatrical sense: the fairy stands behind the limp body of the boy, her right arm extended forward over his shoulder to point out the direction he must go, and gives him a push that impels him forward a few steps; he stops, she moves up behind him with extended right arm that travels past his head to point before him, and gives him another push; again he stops, again she moves up behind him with extended right arm that points ahead, and gives him another push; this impels him off the stage, she follows him off with extended right arm pointing ahead, and the curtain falls.

Of the music for this detail one can say what is true of Stravinsky's entire score—that it is as though composed by Balanchine himself, in the way it lends itself to the choreographic and dramatic uses he makes of it. And there are pages which are enjoyable for themselves. Curious about my impression of the music when I first heard a concert performance of some of it ten years ago, I found that it was essentially the same as now: "This is, in my experience, the most agreeable of Stravinsky's reconstructions of musical styles of the past, largely because in this instance he has retained a great deal of the actual substance of the original, Tchaikovsky, with whom, moreover, he feels a closer affinity than with Bach or Handel, and whom he has treated with great affection. That is, he has scored the music with exquisite delicacy and inflicted on it less of his usual harmonic acerbity. Tchaikovsky does not, however, escape completely unscathed; and among other things a waltz—that most sensuous of musical styles—is scored for wind instruments." Now I am more sharply aware of the lovely and fascinating things Stravinsky achieves with his masterful craftsmanship, and on the other hand the occasional unsuitably twisted, dour, and ineffective details he produces with his rhythmic manipulation, his harmonic acerbity, his dry scoring.

In one scene—the final apotheosis—artistic conception is defeated by the realities of stage and theater. The conception is of the boy slowly making his way up through the water to the fairy; the realization of this that one sees is the boy laboriously climbing up a fish-net; and this might be effective if one saw it while still under the spell of the mill-scene; but instead one sees it after a long interval required for the change of scenery, an interval in which the chattering audience destroys the impression of the mill-scene and the continuity provided by Stravinsky's music.

The work is superbly performed by principals and corps de ballet—though in the first performances the dancing was not yet securely riveted to the music. Franklin brings to the part of the boy a beautifully disciplined technical brilliance that serves a widened range of dramatic expressiveness; Tallchief, as the fairy, reveals, in addition to the assured precision and grace of her dancing, impressive dramatic power; Marie-Jeanne's two brief solos have the sharpness in dazzling brilliance that one would like to see again in "Ballet Imperial." As for Danilova, nothing I have been able to think of describes her enchanting performance as the bride as well as some of the things I have reread in Edwin Denby's old reviews—which I therefore quote: "In all the severity of exact classicism Danilova's dancing rhythm fills the time quantities of the music to the full; it does not, like the rhythm of lesser dancers, jab at a stress and then leave a gap till the music catches up. Stress and release in all their variety are equally vivid, equally expressive to watch. And in watching her you feel, in the sustained flow of her rhythm, the alert vivacity of her personal dance imagination, the bite and grace of her feminine temperament and a human sincerity that makes an artist both unpretentious and great." And "Danilova is not only a prodigious technician, but the way she points up a technical feat with a personal wit and distinction makes her the equal of any great actress."

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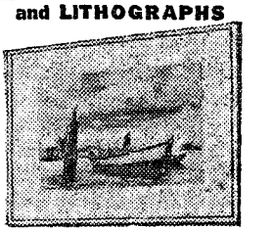

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Letters to the Editors

A Memo to the Reader

[*The following letter was addressed to Mr. Llewellyn G. Ross, treasurer of the National Committee to Aid Families of G. M. Strikers, 212 East 49th Street, New York. Mrs. Tilly is the committee's representative in Atlanta.*]

Dear Mr. Ross: The check for $1,000 was received yesterday. I tried not to need it, but tragedy is stalking among these people, and it was most gratefully received.

One of the men who has been so ill died Sunday afternoon. I had stood for his special treatments with a promise through the funds and this may be $75. He had to have X-rays and skin tests and other laboratory tests. He leaves five of the most attractive little children you ever saw. The ages run from fourteen to five. The fourteen-year-old girl has been the mother to the group. Her father told her Sunday he thought he could not live and he wanted her to get in touch with me and tell me to put them in a Baptist orphanage. . . . Another one of the men committed suicide Sunday. These men have group insurance, but the Chevrolet plant here is trying to prevent the families getting the insurance. The union is prepared to make a court fight if necessary.

This union here has little funds and has reduced its food cards to $4 per week regardless of the size of the family. It has been necessary for us to supplement this for some of the families where there is illness; so we have scattered $5 for food here and there in the emergency cases. Rent has to be paid where rented from private parties as in most cases the owners are in about as bad shape as the strikers. To give you some idea of how it is going, I am sending you a copy of my emergency cases.

These men and their families are very brave and very fine people. I wish you could see them yourself. The mother of a baby who is getting over pneumonia said, "I do not know who is giving this money, but I could fall down and worship them; they saved my baby." One woman in the hospital said, "God is good and men are too—all but the G. M. executives."

We have spent about $500 of that last $1,000. Could we have another by Saturday? MRS. M. E. TILLY

Atlanta, Ga., February 25

A Familiar Pattern

Dear Sirs: I wonder whether M. Spaak, on reading the accurate condemnation of Argentina submitted by *The Nation* Associates to the United Nations Assembly, did not wince at the familiar totalitarian note sounded by Colonel Perón and also, perhaps, at the embarrassing possibilities of the memorandum. . . . And I wonder what would be M. Spaak's reaction, and that of the delegates of other member nations, if some honest person similarly questioned the actions of the United Kingdom, or those of the United States. This is not to defend Colonel Perón and his cutthroat ilk. Rather, it is to consider the sincerity of each one of the UNO's fifty-one member nations. It would seem a sorry world indeed that would allow itself to be saddled with an assembly of grandiose talking by narrow, nationalistic men. . . . At any rate a general housecleaning is in order if this idea of "world security" is to flourish. . . .

CPL. LESTER D. ARSTARK

Jacksonville, Fla., February 4

Yaddo as Usual

Dear Sirs: During the war the Corporation of Yaddo, at Saratoga Springs, a non-profit foundation for artists and writers, was able to accept only a limited number of guests. This summer, however, its twenty-first season, Yaddo will resume normal operations. Writers, painters, sculptors, or composers who are interested in spending some time at Yaddo may receive full information by writing to the Executive Director, Mrs. Elizabeth Ames, Yaddo, Saratoga Springs, New York.

NEWTON ARVIN

Northampton, Mass, January 22

Another Housing Factor

Dear Sirs: Haunted Housing by Maurice Rosenblatt (*The Nation,* February 9) omitted an important factor in the analysis of the current housing shortage . . . namely, the building-trades unions.

Mr. Rosenblatt refers, in passing, to home-building as "still a handicraft industry," without any hint that the strongest force keeping it a handicraft industry is the unions. As long as the unions refuse to permit their members to use mechanical screwdrivers or paint spray devices, how is it possible to call for modernized housing construction?

In the matter of subcontracting also the unions play a reactionary role. Mr. Rosenblatt mentions the extra costs caused by subcontracting but fails to say that a builder who cannot keep a full-time staff of construction workers is forced to subcontract because the unions allow their members to work only for contractors and the contractors agree to hire only from the unions.

I do not want to appear to be saying that the housing shortage is due to the building-trades unions. However, an analysis of the situation which neglects to point out the contributory role of the unions cannot give a true picture and therefore cannot lead to a progressive solution. WILLIAM VOLK

Chicago, February 11

The Veterans' League

Dear Sirs: In a review of "The New Veteran" by Charles Bolté which appeared in *The Nation* (January 19), Walter Bernstein referred to the American Veterans' Committee as the only anti-Jim Crow veterans' organization in existence. Unfortunately, Mr. Bernstein overlooked the Veterans' League of America. . . . The league starts from the premise that the welfare of the veteran is inseparable from the welfare of the entire country—Negro and white, Jew and Gentile. In line with this principle, the Veterans' League of America has already committed itself on a number of

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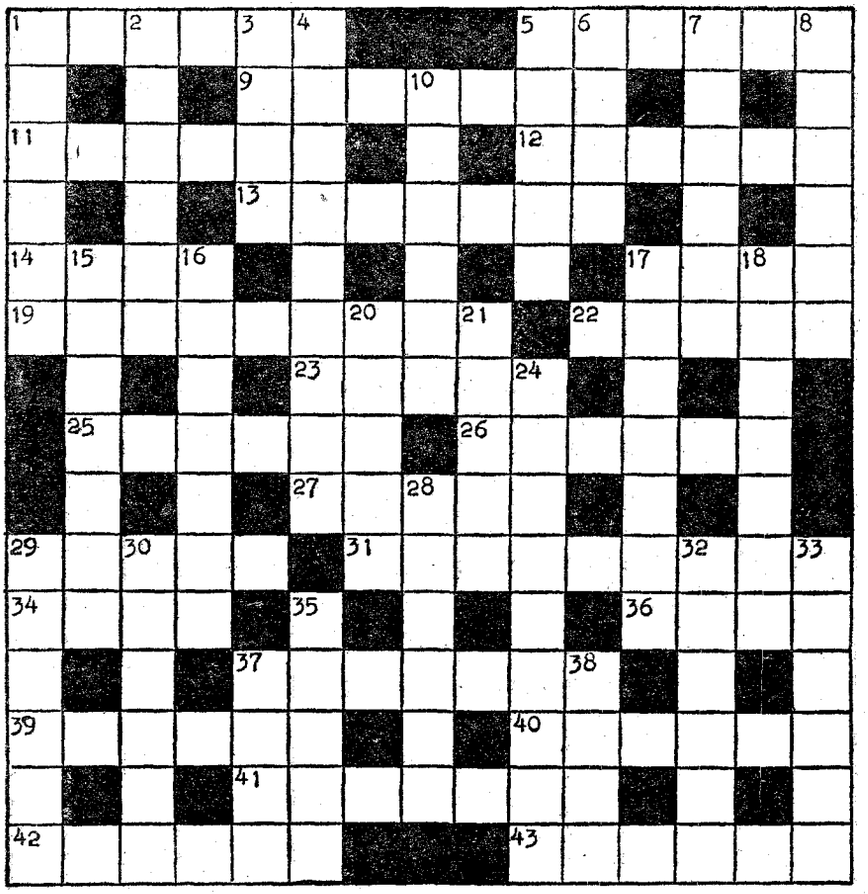
Crossword Puzzle No. 151

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Dear me! It will have to be done again
5 Begin to debate something taken up at the Olympic Games
9 Like Contrary Mary's pretty maids
11 The Willing One in *David Copperfield*
12 No bail for him!
13 Is 800 feet longer than a land one (two words, 3 & 4)
14 A corner "to lie and read in"
17 Twinkle
19 A certain winner, perhaps (two words, 4 & 5)
22 Sundaes after five are bad for you
23 Out of bed I leapt at the first alert (hidden)
25 The "rage" in England
26 A flatterer, this insect
27 Takes off the pressure
29 Bright boy
31 Female forger? No, a town in South Africa
34 Not a large branch
36 But this is a large knife
37 Might as well be out of the world as out of this
39 Better half as good as a mile
40 Greek islands which might slightly electrify a Scot
41 Motives
42 Design (anag.)
43 A couple of G's are offered for the animal (hyphen, 3-3)

DOWN

1 Birds who bump off their parents
2 Conrad wrote it of the sea
3 Ida's elevated
4 Not here? Then where else could it be?
5 Pushed out the pasteboards
6 As a painted ship upon a painted ocean
7 "I'm afraid it's a hit," he remarked, after the first act
8 Infantry air transports
10 G.I. packs 'em in
15 A wolf turns up in the issue
16 Circular assembly gadget for locking devices
17 Where 100% Americans hold their political conventions?
18 Net wage (anag.)
20 The perfect type
21 What some may still call a hot coal
24 Describes the primrose path
28 They are not window drapes
29 A licking does them no harm
30 Type of British army hut
32 Politicians would prefer this to an outing, any day
33 Slang for a German
35 Leveled to the ground, but doesn't sound like it
37 A good servant but a bad master
38 May ravage a rose with impunity, said Wordsworth

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 150

ACROSS:—1 DEMOCRATS; 6 RIFLE; 9 ARTEMUS; 10 OLD MAID; 11 TRELLIS; 12 SPENCER; 13 SEE; 15 PASTEL; 17 OSWEGO; 18 ACTOR; 19 RELIED; 22 CULLEN; 25 HAS; 27 IGNOBLE; 28 ESSENES; 30 ASTORIA; 31 TRIVIAL; 32 SUMPS; 33 DEMAGOGUE.

DOWN:—1 DRAFT; 2 MITTENS; 3 CAMILLE; 4 ASSESS; 5 SPOUSE; 6 RED-LEGS; 7 FIANCEE; 8 EIDERDOWN; 14 EXTRA; 15 PARTISANS; 16 LAD; 17 ORC; 20 LONG TOM; 21 EMBARKS; 23 UNSLING; 24 LANDING; 25 HERALD; 26 SEPTUM; 29 SOLVE.

vital issues. To name some of the important ones:

We have indorsed labor's efforts to gain a substantial wage increase and we are cooperating with labor wherever possible.

We are working for the continuation of rent and price controls to prevent the pauperization of the veteran and the country.

We are cooperating with the Committee for a Permanent FEPC to gain the passage of this vital measure.

We are opposed to compulsory military training.

We support the 65-cent minimum-wage bill and the full-employment bill as passed by the Senate.

We are working for a democratization of the army and a complete renovation of the army system of military justice, including taking the review of sentences already handed down out of the hands of the military and placing it under the jurisdiction of a civilian committee.

We support a program to feed the starving abroad as a humanitarian responsibility and as a practical program of international good-will.

We support a program of training in democracy in our schools and in the armed forces.

The league has its headquarters at 45 Astor Place, New York, 3.

ANTON LEVY,
Chairman, Anti-Discrimination Committee, V. L. A.

New York, February 8

"Hate . . . Fury . . . Brutality"

Dear Sirs: I came away sizzling from the movie "Cornered," to read Margaret Marshall's essay on art in democracy (*The Nation,* February 9). I could only agree with her use of the words "brutalizing" and "vicious" in describing much of our entertainment today.

Recently a movie was banned from New York for immorality. Yet a story which portrays and justifies a man-hunt for hate alone is given top reviews. . . . Such hate feelings underlie the acts of violence we read about every day in the papers. After seeing "Cornered," anyone harboring a red-hot fury would feel justified in giving way to his anger. To disguise brutality under the cloak of the fight against fascism is not just poor taste; it is misrepresentation of the most dangerous sort. It makes a mockery of the courage of men who died because they really understood the meaning of freedom.

LOIS KIDDER

New York, February 17

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